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Pentagonal Meeting's Proceedings, Conclusions

Final Document

LD0108170690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Venice, August 1 (TANJUG)—It is the wish of the Danube-Adria regional group to contribute to creating a new integrated Europe through strengthening their mutual ties, it is set out in the political document adopted in Venice on Wednesday at the Pentagonal initiative summit.

The meeting is attended by prime ministers of Yugoslavia, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and, Italian Deputy-Prime Minister Claudio Martelli, who is filling in for Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti currently prevented from attending by an acute crisis of his government.

The document notes that the initiative for closer links of the Danube-Adria region departs from the region's traditionally good cooperation and the developed bilateral ties and emphasizes the importance of the recent 'revolutionary changes' in central and Eastern Europe.

A special place in the document is given to the necessity of solving the problem of national minorities within the existing borders, as part of the Helsinki processes in Europe.

A message was on Wednesday sent from Venice to the CSCE member-countries, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act. The message stresses the identical stands of the Pentagonal with the this document and states the conviction that regional cooperation can play a major role in the realization of the CSCE goals. [sentence as received]

An economic document was also adopted here on Wednesday with a program of the Pentagonal's work through the end of 1992. It was no coincidence Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar told newsmen that priority in the work of the Pentagonal would be taken up by traffic 'as the chief instrument of linkage.'

The role of coordinator of the Danube-Adria regional cooperation group is given to Italy this year, to be taken over by Yugoslavia in 1991.

Calfa on CSFR Role

LD0108194690 Prague CTK in English 1805 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Venice Aug 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's integration in the Pentagonal Group initiative is extraordinarily important as it helps overcome the country's one-sided economic ties, Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said at a press conference held here today at the end of the summit meeting of the Pentagonal Group.

He also underlined the strong psychological aspect of the new cooperation with the southern neighbours for Czechoslovakia's population, stressing that Czechoslovakia as the youngest member of the "five" strives for cooperation especially in three spheres—in the building of a north-south railway and road connection, diversification in oil and gas imports because until now Czechoslovakia depended one-sidedly on Soviet supplies, and in energy production where the combustion of low-quality lignite must be reduced.

Marian Calfa voiced the opinion that cooperation in the framework of the Pentagonal Group will contribute to further integration of Europe and expressed full satisfaction of Czechoslovakia's delegation with the results of the meeting here.

Antall Urges Polish Membership

LD0108203890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Excerpts] The meeting of the premiers of the five concluded successfully, as everyone expected. [passage omitted] In Europe today, the outlines of a new cooperation uniting five countries from the central part of the region took noticeable shape. This was how the participants of the Adria-Danube summit evaluated the matter, too, at their joint news conference this afternoon on beautiful San Giorgio Island in Venice.

Czechoslovak Premier Calfa said that his country considers very important primarily the regional cooperation that can be developed in the areas of energy and transportation. Italian Deputy Prime Minister Martelli said that the Danube-Adria region and its cooperation can be a part of the future European home. Premier Jozsef Antall voiced a similar thought when he emphasized at the news conference that this regional cooperation can be envisaged only as a part of the whole European integration. The Hungarian head of government repeatedly returned to the significance of German unification and to emphasizing the role of Germany. Then he declared, differing somewhat from the joint communique and the earlier Hungarian standpoint, that if Poland wished to join the five-power cooperation, then this definitely must be made possible, all the more so because Poland is a bridge to the Baltic.

Party Daily Greets Resumption of USSR Relations

AU0208104190 Tirana ATA in English 0934 GMT 2 Aug 90

["An Important Step in the Road of Friendly Bilateral Cooperation—the Newspaper 'ZERI I POPULLIT' Writes"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 2 (ATA)—The signing in Tirana on July 30 of the protocol "on the normalization of the relations between the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics" is an event of special importance, because it opens up the road of development of the new relations and bilateral cooperation on the basis of observation of the sovereignty, full equality and non-interference in the home affairs of each other, the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" stresses in an article published on August 2.

The reestablishment of the diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union is the materialisation of that principled stand expressed in the 10th plenum of the party CC [Central Committee], which pointed out that with the developments that have occurred in the world, now the problem of the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations with the USA and the Soviet Union are on the agenda. The Albanian people and government have never wanted such a long interruption of the relations between the two countries, because Comrade Ramiz Alia stated in that plenum, we have never wanted nor want to be in enmity with anybody. On the contrary, we meet friendship with friendship.

Nowadays, we are witnessing important changes on the international arena and particularly in Europe, the newspaper stresses. Gradually and with efforts a suitable atmosphere is being created for the increase of multilateral cooperation and the solution of the problems. There are tendencies for the democratization of international relations, which cannot but be hailed. It is encouraging the fact that now the concept of the general security is gaining ground. These developments helped also in the normalization of the relations between the PSR of Albania and the Soviet Union.

The visit of the Soviet delegation headed by the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Yuliy A. Kvitsinsky, in our country, the talks conducted with him, the readiness of the two parties expressed in the joint statement and the respective protocol to resume as soon as possible the activity of the embassies in the capitals of both states, prove of the fact that there exists the joint willingness and desire to materialize the relations and make them ever more fruitful, "ZERI I POPULLIT" writes in conclusion.

Ministers Meet To Discuss New Economic Plan

AU0208083990 Tirana ATA in English 0801 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Tirana, August 2/ATA/—The Council of Ministers convened under the direction of Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers on August 1. The meeting examined the questions regarding the application of the new economic mechanism, such as on some improvements in the order of the Council of Ministers "on the investments and capital constructions" on some changes in the law, "on the administration, preservation, documentation and circulation of the material and monetary values," on the law "for the accountancy" etc., with regard to this questions, the members of the government voiced their opinions and made suggestions on the further improvement of legislation in these fields. [sentence as received]

The meeting underlined the importance of knowing, analysing, propagating in the best way on the new economic mechanism and the importance of elaborating the plan of 1991 with the new concepts in all its indexes and links.

The Council of Ministers pointed out the need of defining in the best way, according to the demands of the economic mechanism of the respective organizational structures, of their rights and duties. The meeting discussed also on the application of the measures adopted for the materialisation of the important decisions of the 11th plenum of the party Central Committee and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia for the reorganization of the handicraft services and trade.

The Council of Ministers dwelt also on the work the state and economic organs have to face with the situation created by the long drought.

The Council of Ministers expressed the conviction that through a more organized work, through initiative and self action, the greater tasks for the future will be carried out, especially the application of the new economic mechanism on a wide scale to begin next year.

National Assembly Elects SDS' Zhelev President

AU0108175490 Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 1 Aug 90

["Flash—Flash—Flash: Zhelev Is President"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 1 Aug (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly has just elected Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) president of Bulgaria.

He was elected president at the 13th sitting of the Grand National Assembly, almost a month after the resignation of former president Petur Mladenov and after no one of the other three candidates managed to aggregate a majority of two-thirds.

Atanas Semerdzhiev Vice President

AU0108181990 Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Aug (BTA)—Mr. Atanas Semerdzhiev has been elected vice-president with a majority in an open vote ballot. He was nominated by the newly elected president, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev.

Atanas Semerdzhiev is a member of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and at one of the previous sittings of the Grand National Assembly he gave in his resignation as minister of the interior.

Call for 'Peaceful Transition'

AU0108183890 Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Aug (BTA)—Consultations should be held with the parliamentary groups to form a strong, efficient and competent government which will implement a programme approved on the basis of consensus at the Grand National Assembly, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev stated in his speech made one hour before he was elected and sworn in as president.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev aggregated 284 votes.

He said that the decision of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and his own decision to stand for the Presidency should be considered a historical choice for a peaceful transition to democracy by immediate participation of the political opposition in the country's administration and by assuming direct and moral responsibility for the settlement of the national problems through parliamentary democracy; it should be considered a political compromise and a striving to achieve understanding among the political forces.

The new Bulgarian president stated that his programme is aimed at the transition to a democratic society with parliamentary democracy and a multiparty system, at the rapid implementation of economic and political reforms and at the introduction of a market economy.

In his speech, which was of paramount importance for the election, Dr. Zhelev said that he would not rule out the possibility of a combination of parliamentarianism and a velvet revolution in Bulgaria if the Grand National Assembly does not work well and if it cannot take the necessary rapid and efficient measures. The Socialists asked for an explanation of this "hypothesis," as Dr. Zhelev called it himself, and he declared once again his adherence to parliamentary democracy and the peaceful transition to a democratic society.

In the debates preceding the election 140 questions were put to Dr. Zhelev, most of them asked by the Socialists.

After the new president received the official support of the three major parliamentary groups—the Union of Democratic Forces, the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, and of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms—before the election procedure, there was a speech of disapproval, too. Disapproval was expressed by the independent M.P. on the BSP list and BSP nominee for the post of vice president, Mr. Velko Vulkanov. In his opinion Dr. Zhelev could hardly unite the nation. Besides, he said that in the dramatic situation after the elections Dr. Zhelev succumbed to the dictates of the street instead of showing political wisdom. Mr. Vulkanov was also disturbed by Dr. Zhelev's exceptional adherence to the "velvet revolution."

In most probability Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's election as president will have its influence on the formation of the new government. Some observers believe that the opposition may take the executive.

Zhelev's Acceptance Speech

AU0108165790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1627 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Acceptance speech by Zhelyu Zhelev after his election as president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria at the Grand National Assembly session in Sofia—live]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, esteemed National Assembly deputies, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for the confidence you showed in me by electing me president of the Republic.

I would once more like to confirm my readiness to be guided by the Constitution and the laws. I will see to it that they are obeyed as basic principles in our peaceful transition toward democracy. I assure you that I will contribute with all my efforts to the achievement of understanding and cooperation among all public forces and political organizations. In my activities, I will be solely and exclusively guided by the interests of the Bulgarian people and of the Bulgarian state, by the aspiration of transforming Bulgaria into a modern, democratic, and prospering state.

Thank you again.

Semerdzhiev Delivers Speech

AU0108172590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1636 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Acceptance speech by Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev following his election at National Assembly session in Sofia—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed gentlemen, deputy chairmen of the National Assembly, and dear colleagues:

I never expected to be nominated for office or that I would be elected to such a high post in our republic; I never expected that I would be deprived of the opportunity to express my views on such proposals. If I had been granted this opportunity, I would have proposed other, perhaps worthier National Assembly deputies for this function.

I express my sincere gratitude for your confidence. At this moment I would like to assure you that I shall do everything within my capacity, to conscientiously, loyally, and honestly fulfill my duties toward the Bulgarian people and toward our fatherland; I pledge to work as a loyal partner with Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev, whom we all just elected as president of our republic.

I again express my gratitude for your confidence.

Zhelev, Semerdzhiev Seen as 'Symbol,' 'Good Omen'

AU0208073390 Sofia BTA in English 2024 GMT 1 Aug 90

["Zhelev of the SDS and Semerdzhiev of the BSP Work Shoulder to Shoulder"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 1 Aug (BTA)—Only a few minutes after he was elected president, the leader of the opposition Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev nominated General Atanas Semerdzhiev of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) for vice president.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev aggregated 284 of the votes. Probably half of the Socialist M.P.'s did not support him. Almost all M.P.'s voted for General Semerdzhiev in an open ballot.

Both of them have authority and popularity with the broad masses; they both were participants in the dramatic developments of the last months and in the most strained moments at the sessions of the Grand National Assembly.

On July 24 Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev threatened that the opposition would leave the parliament if instead of voting for a new president the parliamentary group of the BSP moves for putting to the vote the resignation of the former President Mr. Petur Mladenov. "The BSP is still blocking our work with matters of procedure," Dr. Zhelev said in an angry voice, although he is a well-balanced and patient man.

Three days later, in another dramatic situation at the surrounded by excited people National Assembly, General Semerdzhiev gave in his resignation as minister of the interior. "I did not let my nerves loose," he said later. "At that moment I felt that only a desperate cry could put a barrier to the destruction of the society, a barrier to the tragic turn the developments could have taken," he said.

Both Dr. Zhelev and General Semerdzhiev have won the recognition of their respective "opponents." The M.P.'s of the ruling party give credit to the new president for the democratization of Bulgaria. Several times the opposition M.P.'s have underlined that much of the credit for not resorting to violence, as it was the case with Romania, goes to General Semerdzhiev.

As of today, two of the most popular leaders of the ruling party and of the opposition begin to cooperate, having taken the most responsible posts in the state. Many people see in it a symbol and a good omen.

Background Information on President, Semerdzhiev

Zhelev Founding Chairman of SDS

AU0108184590 Sofia BTA in English 1738 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, August 1 (BTA)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, Bulgarian's new president, has been chairman of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) since it was established in December 1989.

He was born in the village of Veselinovo near Shumen, Varna Region, on March 3, 1935. He graduated in philosophy from Sofia University. He worked as a librarian for several years in his native village, where he joined the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Between 1961 and 1964 he did full-time postgraduate work at Sofia University. His Ph.D. thesis was on the "philosophical definition of matter and modern natural history." In it he criticized Lenin's definition of matter. The tenets propounded in his thesis antagonized the dominant ideologists and he was not allowed to defend it. He was fired from the university, stripped of residence rights in Sofia and expelled from the Communist Party.

Between 1966 and 1972 he was unemployed.

In 1987 he defended a doctoral thesis on "relationist theory of the personality."

In the early seventies Dr. Zhelev wrote "Fascism," an exceedingly popular study which immediately after it was published in 1982 was banned, and its author got into trouble with the authorities because of the implied analogy between the fascist and the totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe.

Dr Zhelev is one of the initiators for the establishment of the Committee for Defence of the City of Ruse in March 1988, the first informal organization in Bulgaria persecuted by the Zhivkov regime. Before November 10, 1989, he was co-president of the Club for Protection of Glasnost and Restructuring (now the Glasnost and

Democracy Club). He is member of no political party. Dr Zhelev is married, with two daughters.

Vice President Communist 'Since 1943'

AU0108184390 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Aug (BTA)—The first vice president in Bulgaria's history, Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, is one of the most popular leaders of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

He was born on May 21, 1924, in the town of Velingrad. He is a graduate of military academies in the Soviet Union.

He took part in the anti-fascist struggle, he was a guerrilla fighter and fought also in the Patriotic War of 1944-1945. He has been a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party since 1943.

From 1962 to 1989 he headed the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army. From 1966 to 1989 he was first deputy minister of national defence.

As of December 27, 1989, he was minister of the interior. He stayed in this post for seven months. He gave in his resignation on July 27 this year after the stormy incident in the Bulgarian Parliament and the rally in front of the building of the National Assembly. Even the opposition M.P.'s asked him in public not to give in his resignation. They considered that he did a lot in these months to avoid violence.

Immediately after he was elected vice-president in an open vote ballot and unanimously, General Semerdzhiev stated he did not expect to be elected to this post.

Preelection Discussions, Manueuvering Reported

Zhelev Outlines Program

AU0108143090

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1300 GMT on 1 August reconnects to the National Assembly building in Sofia.

At 1303 GMT, National Assembly Chairman Nikolay Todorov invites Zhelyu Zhelev, the only presidential candidate, to make his statement. He begins at 1306 GMT by saying that his program is devoted to the transition to a democratic system and creating an appropriate "safety net" for the socially weak strata. He stresses his adherence to a "peaceful transition under all circumstances." This requires real democracy and an "authentic opposition." He insists on speeding up privatization. He describes himself as a supporter of the "democratic process" in Bulgaria through "democratic means."

He states that Bulgarians should "learn from their own history" and reiterates that he is "against violence," which is likely to slow down the process of development. He believes that he has contributed to avoiding violence during the election campaign and at other times.

Zhelev further describes the events of 14 December 1989 and the demonstrations at which people urged the elimination of Article One of the Constitution (on the supremacy of the Communist Party). He says that he and his colleagues from the SDS tried to calm down the crowds. Nevertheless, young people reprimanded him and other SDS leaders today that they prevented the "velvet revolution" in Bulgaria at that time. Zhelev explains that such a revolution could not have been accomplished with a few thousand people, while danger existed that the events might have developed in a manner similar to that in Beijing and Romania. He expresses the hypothesis that the "velvet revolution" might replace parliamentary democracy, or that both processes might be combined.

Zhelev further dwells on the process of reforms in East Europe and "perestroyka" in the Soviet Union.

Dealing with the situation in Bulgaria and the present state of parliamentarism, the speaker expresses his hope for economic assistance from other countries and for consultations among all parties on the basis of which reforms could be initiated.

He reads a text issued by the SDS on constructive cooperation with all political forces, which, in his opinion represents a real "social contract" for this cooperation. The text also refers to the role of parliament and of other state institutions in providing a truly democratic regime. The text calls for a new local government based on self-administration and for "free elections" of local administrative organs.

Zhelev speaks in favor of a new economic policy based on initiative and an independent market economy. He also calls for agrarian reform, private and cooperative property, and restoring the situation of land ownership as it existed prior to collectivization in accordance with the farmers' will.

The speaker dwells on the "integration of the Bulgarian economy with the Common Market" and on the requirement to establish and expand useful international trade relations.

Dealing with the role of the state president, he describes this role as that of a mediator for the country's stability.

Zhelev ends his statement at 1331 GMT.

BSP's Lukanov Approves Zhelev Candidacy

AU0108160390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1434 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Statement by Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, speaking on behalf of the Bulgarian Socialist Party parliamentary group, at the Grand National Assembly session in Sofia—live]

[Text] I am not speaking to you as prime minister, but as a representative of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] parliamentary faction, I would like to make the following statement:

On behalf of the BSP parliamentary group, I confirm our agreement to support Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev's candidacy for the post of president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

In this connection, I would like to address from this rostrum not only you, the deputies of the Seventh Grand National Assembly, but also our party's members and supporters, our constituents, and all the Bulgarian public, in order briefly to explain the reasons for our decision.

In the first place, this decision stems from our sense of responsibility toward the nation, from the understanding that the interests of the nation really stand above all other things. Precisely this understanding motivated our decision to withdraw the candidacy of Chavdar Kyuranov, our candidate for the presidential post, despite his undeniable qualities which no one in this parliament contested, and to express our readiness to support another acceptable candidate.

In supporting the candidate of the major opposition force, represented in the Grand National Assembly, we also confirm our definite renunciation of a legally based and practical monopoly over power and confirm our adherence to the principles of multiparty, parliamentary democracy.

We adopted the principle of cooperation and understanding among the major political forces in our country on problems of supra-party and national importance as an essential part of our election platform. We confirmed our resolve through various initiatives and by our active participation in the national roundtable. We once more confirm this resolve by today's decision.

We would like to believe that today's solution of the presidential question on the basis of consensus among all political forces shall give a strong impetus to the process of cooperation and mutual understanding, considering that we are profoundly convinced of the necessity to join the forces of democracy and common sense in Bulgaria for the sake of civic peace, calm, and progress in our country.

It is unnecessary for me to stress that this was not an easy decision for us. It was difficult, but not because it is painful for us to part with the monopoly on power. On the contrary, this is one of the basic principles of the BSP's policy.

It was not and is not an easy decision because of the intense polarization of political moods in our country, because of the increasing deterioration of public behavior, as a result of the parliamentary elections, as a result of the mutual distrust and misgivings which have recently accumulated in our people's consciousness.

There is even more: We realize that some of our members and constituents will not easily accept our decisions. Nonetheless, we are taking this decisive step, because we elect the path of national consensus, of joint efforts for Bulgaria's benefit. We elect the path of parliamentary democracy, preferring it to the disastrous path of confrontation, hatred, and distrust, of pressure from outside, and of the so-called velvet revolutions, which can only lead into one direction —namely toward a new national tragedy.

We are confident that time shall confirm the correctness of our decision.

Nevertheless, this can only happen if all political forces, all leading figures of our state should strictly adhere to the goals and principles which unite us, such as democracy for all, security and prosperity for all, rights and freedoms for all.

The president of the country has a particular responsibility related to the observance of these principles and for the implementation of such goals.

Let us hope that the presidential candidate is fully aware of his responsibilities. We are ready to support him and to cooperate with him in a loyal and consistent manner for the implementation of all initiatives which are in the interest of Bulgaria and to the Bulgarian people's benefit.

In connection with the candidate's statement, I would just like to point out that regarding the question of agrarian reform in our country, the BSP shall consistently adhere to the principle that the land should belong to those who are cultivating it.

This principle, as a matter of fact, was approved in the joint document adopted by the economic experts at the national roundtable.

The joint declaration of the parliamentary group leaderships of the BSP, the Union of Democratic Forces, SDS, and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, BZNS, justifies our optimism.

It is a well-known fact that we regarded the solution of the presidential question not only as the election of a personality, regardless of how important the human qualities of the public figure in question might be. In our opinion, this question is part of a wider issue related to the requirement for cooperation among the major political forces and to the political foundation of this cooperation.

I think that Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev's statement and the joint declaration of the parliamentary groups on his statement provide the prerequisites for such a cooperation for the sake of peaceful transition to democracy and for overcoming the political, economic, and moral crisis which our society is undergoing to day with joint efforts.

These new circumstances made it possible for us to support Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev's candidacy. We hope, in case of his election, that he may honorably fulfill his lofty mission as head of state of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and we would like to reassure him once more that he can rely on the loyal and well-intentioned cooperation of the BSP deputies in fulfilling his mission.

Thank you for your attention.

BSP, BZNS, SDS Voice Support

AU0108154090 Sofia BTA in English 1515 GMT 1 Aug 90

["Support for the Single Presidential Candidate"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 1 Aug (BTA)—The parliamentary groups of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) today backed up the nomination of Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev for president. Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev is the single candidate for this post after the one-week-long attempts at the Grand National Assembly to elect a president with a qualified majority of two-thirds of the vote.

Premier Andrey Lukanov confirmed that the BSP parliamentary group will support the nomination of Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, leader of the SDS.

"May the legislative activity of the Grand National Assembly be our velvet revolution and our contribution to the East European process," Dr. Zhelev said in his speech.

MRF Lends Backing to Zhelev

AU0108162790 Sofia BTA in English 1538 GMT 1 Aug 90

["Support for the Single Presidential Candidate"—BTA headline]

[Excerpt] Sofia, 1 Aug (BTA)—[passage omitted] The parliamentary group of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) also backed up Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's nomination.

If Zhelyu Zhelev is elected president, it would be a step forward to the assertion of democracy, it would stimulate the work of the Grand National Assembly, an MRF national representative said.

The vice-president can be a representative of another political force, it was pointed out in the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] statement, after all parliamentary groups backed up the presidential candidate, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev.

The national representatives of the SDS recommended to the future president to hold consultations and form a strong cabinet.

Lukanov: SDS Not Seeking Coalition

AU0208070990 Sofia BTA in English 2004 GMT 1 Aug 90

["Political Forces Reach Agreement"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 1 Aug (BTA)—Delivering a speech at the Bulgarian Parliament, Premier Andrey Lukanov stated that by supporting the presidential candidate of the major opposition force the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) confirms it has resolutely given up its law-guaranteed and actual monopoly on power and its adherence to the principles of multiparty democracy. [as received] He expressed assurance that the successful settlement of the problem of the presidency on the basis of a consensus among the political forces would give a strong impetus to the process of interaction and understanding.

Mr. Lukanov pointed out that it was not easy for the BSP to make its decision to back up the candidate of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) because of a perceptional polarization of the political leanings in the country. We make this decisive step because our choice is the road to national consensus, common work for Bulgaria's welfare and to parliamentary democracy and not the fatal road to confrontation, hatred, out-of-parliament pressure and the so-called velvet revolutions, Mr. Andrey Lukanov said.

Before the results of the voting became known, interviewed by a BTA reporter Mr. Lukanov said that the wish for understanding is a bilaterally shared one, that there is a tendency of easing the tension and rapprochement and that all this is the result of the consultations held by the political forces.

This is a historical choice of the peaceful evolutionary transition to democracy through understanding, political compromise and cooperation in the real separation of power and participation in it, this is how the parliamentary Union of the Democratic Forces assessed the election of the leader of the Union of Democratic forces, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev for president.

The deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Union of the SDS, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, stated that the SDS addresses Bulgaria's president with the recommendation to become the initiator for holding political consultations with the participation of the major political forces and to use his influence so that the Grand National Assembly should reach a consensus with regard to the directions of the activity of the future government, if possible by the middle of next month.

The SDS is for a strong government of national responsibility and confidence which should, within a previously set period of time, carry out a programme approved by the Grand National Assembly for the implementation of the necessary reforms in the country which would ensure the conditions for a transition to democracy and a market economy, it is underlined in the statement of the SDS Parliamentary Union.

Asked immediately after the election of Zhelyu Zhelev to the presidency if this means an agreement to form a coalition cabinet, Mr. Stoyan Ganev told a BTA reporter that the position of the SDS on the question of the coalition is unchanged. The SDS is for a strong and competent government, he said, but it does not mean that it would be a coalition one.

SDS To Replace Zhelev With Three Cochairmen

AU0208065690 Sofia BTA in English 2030 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Aug (BTA)—"We are [word as received] yet to discuss the new government," the newly elected president, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, said. Immediately after being sworn in, he was besieged by crowds of journalists in the assembly hall of the Bulgarian Parliament.

"I will do everything which is within my powers for the sake of uniting Bulgaria," Dr. Zhelev stated and added that he realizes how complicated this task is. "There is no other way out," he said. "Bulgaria should achieve consensus."

After Dr. Zhelev was nominated for the presidency, some supporters of the Union of Democratic Forces voiced their fears that the opposition would be "beheaded." Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev is chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and of its parliamentary group. He is said to be a consolidating figure in the SDS and for the time being the SDS will not elect a new leader, but will be cochaired by three people: Milan Drenchev, Khristofor Subev and Filip Dimitrov (at the moment they are deputy chairmen of the SDS).

Assembly Debates Declaration on Ilinden Uprising

AU0208093790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Nina Spasova report from National Assembly in Sofia; date not given—recorded]

[Text] The Grand National Assembly began today's session after a considerable delay. After a lengthy discussion, the members approved the agenda for today, which includes two items: first, discussion of a declaration in connection with the 87th anniversary of the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising; and second, the adoption of a resolution on annulling the powers, as members of parliament, of President Zhelyu Zhelev and Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev.

The people's deputies agreed to the request of the prime minister that the government's resignation should be accepted on Tuesday, when the prime minister would present his report on the government's work.

After the adoption of the agenda, the sitting went into a 40-minute recess, which is continuing at the moment. During the recess, a members' commission is discussing the draft text of the declaration on the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising.

Uprising Commemorated; Macedonia Said Bulgarian

AU0208072390 Sofia BTA in English 2045 GMT 1 Aug 90

["For the Revival of the Bulgarian National Ideal"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 1 Aug (BTA)—The glorious attempt of the Bulgarians of Macedonia and the Edirne area to overthrow the Ottoman yoke 87 years ago provided a Bulgarian scholar with the occasion to express his bitterness with regard to the policy of the Bulgarian statesmen pursued in the last 100 years who did not manage to preserve the country's entity. Professor Nikolay Genchev, a corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, reminded what a prominent Bulgarian intellectual said: that since the time of Simeon (a Bulgarian king who lived 1,100 years ago) Bulgaria has stayed with a population of six million.

At a solemn ceremony organized to mark the anniversary of the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising of 1903 (the initiative committee of which comprised representatives of all political forces) Prof. Nikolay Genchev declared himself to be for revealing the whole truth about the Bulgarian ethnic problem and the country's relations with the neighbouring country, at the bottom of which is this problem.

Bulgaria will go along the road to Europe together with the other Balkan peoples and nobody would agree to take to the all-European home the Balkan brawls and nationalism, Prof. Genchev said.

The historian pointed out that nobody is in position to state a single historical fact that could question the truth that in the Middle Ages the Macedonians were part of the Bulgarian nationality and that the revival in these lands was an integral part of the Bulgarian national revival.

A review was made of the history of the Balkan countries' attempts to prove that Macedonia was a territory belonging to this one or the other. He condemned the claims and the falsifications in this field which, unfortunately, have been mushrooming of late.

The policy of the Bulgarian administrators who made use of the national ideal as a medium of exchange and speculated with it was severely criticized. Special attention was paid to the gross mistakes of the totalitarian regime which go back to the time of Stalin's dictatorship in the Comintern. The Bulgarian Communist Party's acceptance of the absurd thesis that there is a Macedonian nation came as a result of subjecting the national ideal to the ideas of the victory of the proletarian revolution, Prof. Nikolay Genchev said.

There can be no question of any claims or seeking revenge, but the historical truth about the Bulgarian identity of the population in Macedonia subjected to cruelty and violence should not be passed over in silence, the scholar underlined.

The country's president, Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev; Premier Lukanov; the chairman of the Grand National Assembly, Academician Nikolay Todorov and the national representatives at the Grand National Assembly attended the ceremonial meeting.

Masses were said today in the capital and in Blagoevgrad (southwest Bulgaria) in memory of the glorious Ilinden-Preobrazhenie rebels.

DEMOKRATSIYA on Macedonian 'Controversy'

AU0208112090 Sofia BTA in English 0853 GMT 2 Aug 90

["On the Controversy Over Macedonia"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 2 Aug (BTA)—The entries in the black list of Bulgaria's modern history began in Berlin in 1878, the list was complemented in Bucharest and Neuilly in 1913 and 1919, and then other names have been added to it (the author has in mind the international treaties and accords concluded by the Great Powers concerning Bulgaria's territorial integrity), today's DEMOKRATSIYA points out in a signed article published under the headline "A Reminder About Macedonia."

The author writes that after the Berlin peace treaty the Bulgarian population in Macedonia was forced to demand autonomy, as this was believed to be only possible way to preserve the integrity of the region of Macedonia and was seen as stage of transition to the unification of the Bulgarian people. On the strength of the Berlin peace treaty part of the Bulgarians received their freedom, but another part remained under Ottoman domination.

According [to] Stoimir Minkov, the author of the article, the present noisy campaign launched in Yugoslavia is a natural continuation of the chauvinistic Pan-Serbian policy. Minkov considers that there is a strange analogy between some Serbian scholars' allegations, who say that before being made Serbians, the Bulgarians should become Macedonians, and the policy followed by the former Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) on this question.

In 1929 the BCP recognized the demand for making Macedonia, Thrace and Dobrudzha independent, and defined Pirin Macedonia and the Rhodopes as areas which were under foreign national domination in 1934. On Stalin's instructions the Balkan Laendersecretariat of the Comintern adopted a resolution according to which the existence of a Macedonian nation and a Macedonian language was recognized and the bureau in exile gave orders to scholars in Moscow and Kiev to work out a Macedonian literary language, Minkov writes. According to him in 1941, once more on the instructions of the Comintern (at that time its secretary was Georgi Dimitrov), the BCP ceded the right to dispose of the territory of Vardar Macedonia to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The author of the article considers that the "cultural autonomy" of the Pirin area declared, as he writes, by Dimitrov in 1946 under Stalin and Tito's pressure, was the "babe" of the policy pursued by the Comintern. A "new nation" was artificially created.

The resentment was so great that hundreds of Bulgarians preferred to be sent to prisons and forced labour or interned to becoming "Macedonians." The milestones of this policy are Stalin, Tito and Dimitrov, Minkov writes, pointing out that the denationalization of one's own people is an unprecedented in the world history.

Rumors of Leva's Domestic Revaluation Denied

AU0108130890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 Jul 90 p 2

[Dima Dimitrova report]

[Text] Yesterday [27 July] Sofia heard a rumor that on Monday [30 July] the Bulgarian leva was to be exchanged, and that a train had allegedly already arrived at the "Pioner" station from Leningrad with a freight car full of new bank notes.

Professor Stefan Stoilov, minister for economic reform, was the first to make a statement concerning the truth of the rumor in the lobbies of parliament.

"I have not heard of anything like this," he admitted. "As an economist, I believe that such a decision is not justified at the moment, and, in any case it needs wide public discussion and support. Only a coalition government could effect a money reform of a confiscatory kind."

Belcho Belchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of finance, had a good laugh when he was asked about the rumor, and then asked if the supposed freight car containing the bank notes had been broken open.

"Such a decision is not possible at this stage," said Belcho Belchev.

According to street lore, in Bulgaria, decisions about prices and money are first denied and then applied.

If anyone believes this claim, he should take his money from under his pillow and hurry to the bank.

Unemployment Said Rising, Expected To Continue

AU0108181890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Jul 90 pp 1,2

[Ekaterina Popova article: "Unemployment is Rising Slowly, but Surely"]

[Text] On 30 July 1990, 22,437 persons were registered as unemployed in Bulgaria. (The number of unregistered unemployed is probably several times this figure.) Of these, 11,500 are out of work as a result of plants being closed or individual groups of staff being laid off, while the remaining 11,000 are on the general list of unemployed. Some 13,700 of the unemployed are manual workers, and more than 8,600 are specialists with secondary, professional, or higher education. Engineers and economists are most affected by unemployment, a phenomenon unknown in Bulgaria until recently. Contrary

to expectation, the majority of the jobless are women—14,108 in all. A troubling development is the number of young people out of work; there are 9,380 of them, including 6,400 girls.

This is a summary of the latest figures received by the Labor and Social Security Committee from its 121 regional offices throughout the country. Goran Goranov, deputy chairman of the committee, announced them at a news conference in Sofia on 28 July. "On the one hand," he said, "unemployment is an objectively necessary phenomenon during the transition from an administratively centralized economy to a free economy, and contributes to improving labor discipline and work standards." "However, on the other hand," he added, "enforced idleness affects the individual psychologically as well as financially, and leads to a rise in crime."

As the main reasons for the unhappy employment situation at present, Goran Goranov mentioned the following: the growing shortages of raw and other materials, financial means, and foreign exchange, which restrict the market, and thereby limit production; the conversion of the military industry and closure of ecologically harmful manufacturing processes; and the cuts in administrative and managerial staff. The creation of new jobs is the real way to cut unemployment, but this is beyond our country's powers, at least for the time being. However, the development of private initiatives represents one possible way out; if this is supported by the necessary legislation, about 100,000 jobs are expected to be created in this sphere.

At the moment the employers have no meaningful economic incentives to expand their production and increase the numbers of workers and employees. For this reason, in Bulgaria at the moment there are only 44,772 job vacancies, of which barely 2,500 are for specialists. It is clear that the economic crisis exerts its most crippling social effects on people with high qualifications. In the capital, for example, almost one-half of the jobs cut during the first half of the year were for people with higher education. It is therefore no wonder that a considerable amount of our intellectual potential has been leaving the country recently. After pointing out that no precise statistics are being kept of the flow of emigration, Goran Goranov attributed the phenomenon to "the internationalization of the movement of manpower," which, however, should not be dramatized.

It appears that the Labor and Social Security Committee has greater problems with retraining personnel, since only 240 of the 11,000 unemployed workers are attending courses. It is likely that people do not regard this as a solution to their serious situation. Clearly, Council of Ministers Decree No. 57 does not resolve all the problems of the jobless. It is for this very reason that specialists of the Labor and Social Security Committee are now preparing proposals for amendments and additions to the Labor Code, draft laws on job training and retraining, on employment, and on those working abroad. These will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly in October of this year.

As regards the forecasts of the prospective increase in unemployment, these are not encouraging. Before the end of 1990, from 75,000 to 80,000 workers and employees will be made out of work—between 55,000 and 60,000 in material production, and the rest in the state, economic, and social management sectors. During the next few months, the economic reform will still not reach its maximum tempo; however, when this does happen, lasting unemployment will affect 10 percent of those employed at the moment, that is, 470,000 persons. Such a development in the future is foreseen by the specialists of the World Bank.

Gasoline Demand Still High Despite Higher Cost

AU0108144490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

[Katya Karagyaurova report]

[Text] Several days after the increase in gasoline prices, the lines at the gasoline stations have grown shorter, but have not disappeared completely. This is to be expected because during the season of vacations planned long in advance people cannot deprive themselves of the convenience provided by their cars.

I expected that after the price increase, gasoline consumption would fall and we would be able to manage with the smaller supplies, said Kupen Dimov, deputy general director of the "Petroleum" Company. However, this did not happen, and the forecasts for our supplies are far from optimistic.

In Burgas Port, 50,000 tonnes of petroleum have just been discharged, and another tanker with an 80,000-tonne cargo is expected shortly. The position with deliveries later on is unclear. These two full tankers will enable the Burgas Petrochemical Plant to operate, but not at full capacity. The plant will process 12,000 tonnes of petroleum daily, but its normal capacity is 30-35,000 tonnes. The accumulated stocks are exhausted, the storage tanks are empty, and there is no hope of filling them in the near future.

This shortage will probably continue until the end of the year because the Soviet Government has announced that we cannot be supplied with 1.8 million tonnes of petroleum, Kupen Dimov continued. We normally process this quantity in two months. What we will do after this is uncertain. At the moment we are trying to ensure supplies for plants which operate continuous production cycles or which are of particular importance. For example, during the harvesting period we managed to save the situation, and there were no unpleasant shocks. In our gasoline deliveries we will give priority to vehicles used for health care and vehicles delivering meat, milk, and other essentials. Customers must be prepared to accept that the shortage will affect them.

According to Stefka Popova, a saleswoman at Gasoline Station No. 7137 in Sofia, the fall in gasoline consumption is mainly because of lower consumption by state vehicles. We normally sell 10 tonnes a day, she said, but now we barely sell three tonnes.

The sale of specific grades of gasoline from specific gas stations has stopped. Now almost all vehicles can get any grade of gas at any gas station but only for cash payment in leva. This means that the gas stations can handle more customers, and the opportunities for abuses that previously existed, involving various foreign currencies and securities (which caused more than a few gas station workers to end up in jail) have been for all intents and purposes eliminated.

Kupen Dimov is sure that gasoline savings will nonetheless be achieved, because until now no one has exercised control over gasoline coupons. It is quite another matter when the driver is given cash and is responsible for how he spends it.

It is already known that the remaining unused gasoline coupons will be returned to the "Petroleum" Company, as was the rule at the end of the year, and the money will be refunded.

At the moment one-half of the gasoline requirements is being met; instead of 4,000-4,200 tonnes, the Burgas Petrochemical Plant is producing 2,000 tonnes daily. Grade A96 gasoline is not being produced, and there is a lack of the most popular motor oil "Diona Super," because the Pleven Petrochemical Combine lacks the required additives.

Deliveries of 10-D and 8-D oil are more regular. The position is very difficult with the oils for two-stroke engines manufactured by the Leon Tadzher plant in Ruse, but the specialists claim that 10-D oil can be safely substituted for the LT-2T grade of oil.

'Disastrous' Water Supply Shortage Reported

AU0108162490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Jul 90 p 1

[Boris Gergov report: "The Iskur Water Reservoir Has No Water"]

[Text] Within only 10 days the Iskur reservoir has lost 15 million cubic meters of water. Over the last few days the inflow has amounted to 90,000 cubic meters, while over 1.6 million cubic meters of water have been used. This is a disastrous situation, Petko Petkov, general manager of the Water Supply and Drainage Enterprise, declared.

He forecasts that the water supply situation in Sofia, compared with 1985, is expected to deteriorate even further because not many people are worrying about the present state of affairs. Former Mayor Stefan Ninov added that the National Water Supply Council is distributing water for irrigation, on a local basis, guided by regional interests, but without consideration for the emerging nationwide water supply crisis. Employees from the National Water Supply Council are currently on leave, while the Sofia City People's Council simply has no counterpart with whom one can negotiate about discontinuing the water supplies through the main east Bulgarian water pipe.

A total of 2,500 liters of water per second passed through this pipe over the first days following 12 June 1990, but as of 21 July this amount had increased to 6,000 liters per second. A total of 5 million liters of water have flowed through this pipe.

Petko Petkov expects the minimum level of the reservoir acceptable as far as public health standards are concerned to be reached by the end of October 1990, while the minimum volume should be reached in March 1991. This has not happened before, therefore it is difficult to forecast what kind of water will flow from our faucets in the future, except for the obvious fact that it will be muddy.

Proposals have been submitted to introduce a water rationing system, but this proposal was turned down by the Water Supply and Drainage Enterprise. According to the arguments of the enterprise, water rationing is not efficient, it does not help in saving water, and is inconvenient for the citizens, while, on the other hand, more repair work is required.

A proposal is expected to be submitted to the Council of Ministers according to which only drinking water should be allowed to be used. The supply for vacation homes will be stopped. The Water Supply and Drainage Enterprise calls for assistance from the municipal councils in providing manpower and technical equipment for urgent repair works and for an improvement in road pavements, considering that water pipes are bursting as a result of a falling water table and drought. Control should be intensified, while enterprises, organizations, and private citizens who are wasting water should be held responsible.

Silistra Workers Call Off Sit-in Strike

AU0208074990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Jul 90 p 2

[Nikola Nanev report from Silistra: "The Sit-in at the Municipal People's Council Headquarters Has Ended"]

[Text] The members of the "Bulgaria" National Association, headquartered in Silistra, which occupied the building of the Municipal People's Council in this town situated on the Danube, called off their sit-in which began last Tuesday [24 July], and turned into a symbolic strike on 26 July. This happened after Petur Petrov, the association's chairman, returned from Sofia where he was summoned to the Supreme Court—the institution to which some of the strikers' demands were submitted.

The answers which Petrov and other members of the strike committee received from the Supreme Court fully

satisfied the claims of the strikers on cases of violations of the Constitution which, according to them, were committed by leaders of the Rights and Freedoms Movement in the village of Dulovo, in May 1990.

Religious Rights Committee Chairman on Goals

AU0108130490 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 30 Jul 90 p 5

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Khristofor Subev, chairman of the National Committee for the Defense of Religious Rights, by NEUE ZEIT reporters Plamen Nikolov and Ruska Sagorska; place and date not given: "Bulgarians Are Not an 'Ungodly People'"]

[Excerpts] Forty-four-year-old priest Khristofor Subev is one of the most distinct personalities in recent Bulgarian political history. Born in the city of Gabrovo he first studied nuclear physics at Sofia's "Kliment Okhridski" University and, subsequently theology at the Spiritual Academy of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in the capital. He is chairman of the National Committee for the Defense of Religious Rights. [passage omitted]

[NEUE ZEIT] The Committee for Religious Rights is a collective member of the Union of Democratic Forces, which was founded at the end of last year. What are the objectives of the Committee?

[Subev] Our committee is an independent organization that is fighting for the truth with peaceful means. For example, we have organized silent marches with more than 200,000 participants. We held open-air church services at Easter with almost half-a-million citizens from Sofia, and an even more impressive service on St. George's Day [6 May]. The assembly of such a large crowd was unprecedented in Bulgarian history. This is a success for the opposition and a clear rejection of those who claim that the Bulgarian people are ungodly.

[NEUE ZEIT] Did you have to suffer under the old communist regime?

[Subev] On 15 June 1989 I was arrested and spent 40 days in prison awaiting trial; subsequently I spent 20 days in prison in Sofia and another 20 days in the prison at Vratsa, along with criminals. Although I was not tortured I was exposed to moral and psychological pressure.

[NEUE ZEIT] Our last question: What do you expect for Bulgaria's future?

[Subev] A democratic, Christian, law-governed state that can assume its place in Europe, and which experiences not only a spiritual recovery but also an economic one. This is what Bulgaria's future should look like!

'Civil Courage' Movement Occupies Danube Bridge

AU0108185090 Sofia BTA in English 1803 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Ruse, August 1 (BTA)—The Civil Courage Independent Movement lifted the moratorium on the sit-in strikes at the border checkpoint on Danube bridge connecting Ruse and Giurgiu and today carried out an effective occupation on the border from 00:00 to 02:00 hrs. The drive is an expression of protest against the fact that the Bulgaro-Romanian Commission of experts failed to observe the time limit for announcing the results of the inspection of the facilities on platform 2 at the chemical works in Giurgiu which have continually polluted the air in Ruse for years.

The Civil Courage Movement declared its decision to occupy the border checkpoint on Danube bridge from 19:00 to 21:00 hrs. Every day as of tomorrow, August 2, for an unlimited period of time. The movement also expressed its readiness for a constructive dialogue with the competent authorities for the rapid and efficient settlement of the ecological problems of the Ruse-Giurgiu area.

Delegates' Behavior, Legal 'Ignorance' Assailed

AU0208081790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 July 90 p 5

[Dimitur Shumanliev article: "They Are Here Again"]

[Text] At election rallies in some areas of our country Petur Beron is reported to have made vulgar gestures to the public. Now, according to unconfirmed sources, his name is mentioned as a presidential candidate. If this should really happen, Petur Beron will have the splendid opportunity to make vulgar gestures to the entire people. Congratulations!

Some representatives of the opposition, however, are showing their ignorance of the Constitution. They show that they have no idea about parliamentary procedure, about how to make statements, how to answer questions, and how to respond to other people's statements. How should they know, considering that the Grand National Assembly has not yet adopted a code of procedural regulations? The clever people who drafted the agenda listed this question as one of the last items on the agenda, instead of beginning with it, so that the rules of the game could be set.

Some National Assembly deputies are quickly forgetting certain things, such as, for example, that a question has already been voted upon, or that a declaration of parliament is being discussed at the moment, while they are talking about the disappearance of a pig from the village of Elino in 1974. The National Assembly deputies proved with their behavior that they should go to Sunday school. And only a few sittings were required to make us realize that Ginyu Ganev is more experienced, more charming, and more patient than the chairman.

The minds of certain National Assembly deputies are as empty as the National Assembly's canteen. Some people seem to forget that a silly old man might have been a silly young man. Shoemakers permit themselves to give their opinions on subjects, other than shoes. Dizzy with democracy, we once more permit cowboys to teach us how to run a state. Some National Assembly deputies unmasked themselves as enemies of legal documents. They proved that they had never read the text of a law.

Others confirmed by their behavior that they are no gentlemen, while a third group showed that they are suffering from political narrow-mindedness, which makes them incapable of seeing beyond their ideological passions. They are seizing every opportunity to show up at the speaker's rostrum to launch slanderous political attacks against each other. Such people are expelled from the parliaments of modern states, while in our country they are still applauded.

The formula: "We have no experience, we have to learn how to behave in parliament" is very convenient for the cultivation of dangerous bacilli. Some deputies are truly suffering from megalomania, as a result of which the only one who applauds and cheers in the theater is the author of the play himself. Certain deputies are immensely infatuated with themselves, while no one else pays the least attention to them.

Petur Mladenov had to resign for one statement, which was not followed by any action. Petur Beron might follow him with actions, to which there will be a well-known response. The show goes on with Todor Zhivkov's hearing. He certainly never made any vulgar gestures to the people, but how he treated them—this we can learn every day by observing the empty shelves in the food stores. It is evident that people who like shows are fond of such sensations, because we are Zhivkov's children, after all.

If you read the stenographic records of the Grand National Assembly sessions, you will discover that the name "Zhivkov" is much more frequently mentioned than words, such as "bread," "mothers," "health," and "children." Today, beginning at 1500, the show continues. The tension is growing at the same speed as the vegetable prices, the unemployment rate, and the general shortage of food and consumer goods, but instead of making laws the deputies are drawing their swords.

People are shouting and screaming in the streets, the citizens' living standard is threatened, housewives are expected to work miracles in order to feed their families, but 400 deputies are again discussing the scenario of the "Zhivkov show" and a play called "How to Elect a President." In addition to this, their political shortsightedness prevents the deputies from seeing any other personalities outside parliament. This is their megalomania!

If television would carry live relays from parliament, the response of social tension would repeat Petur Beron's vulgar and threatening gestures.

If history could be a quick judge, it would file 400 legal cases as of tomrrow and immediately prosecute all our deputies with a chief and permanent accusation: Namely that they place their political interests over the interests of the people's daily bread. The chief and permanent prosecutor should be the Bulgarian people's hunger.

EC Backing Investment Bank Credits to Nation

AU0108170590 Sofia BTA in English
1639 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Brussels, 1 Aug (BTA correspondent)—The European Community will guarantee any credits granted to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania by the European Investment Bank (EIB, the bank of the EC) for the implementation of infrastructure projects in these countries, it is said in an announcement of the Commission of the European Community approved at its session in Brussels today.

It is also pointed out in the announcement that the EC should increase its present letter of guarantee of one milliard [billion] ECU [European Currency Units] for the EIB credits for Poland and Hungary to two milliard ECU, so that it can cover the credits granted to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania. The guarantee is valid for a period of three years. It should be considered a "ceiling" of the guarantee of the EC in favour of the EIB, but not as a firm commitment.

Interviewed by the BTA correspondent, a spokesman of the EC stated that at the moment it is difficult to specify the size of the credits Bulgaria could expect from the EIB. I think, however, that we could speak of an amount of more than 200 million ECU in the next three years, the spokesman said.

Dlouhy Leaves for Two-Day Visit to Soviet Union

Dlouhy, Maslyukov View 'Prospective Market'

LD0108202290 Prague CTK in English 1934 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow Aug 1 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy confirmed at his talks with Soviet First Deputy Premier Yuriy Maslyukov here today that the Soviet Union is a big and prospective market for Czechoslovakia.

Vladimir Dlouhy, who arrived here for two-day talks with Soviet officials earlier today, and Yuriy Maslyukov broadly discussed economic relations and the fundamental structure of mutual goods exchange between their countries in 1991 and up to 1995.

The Soviet deputy premier said that the USSR will do its utmost in the fourth quarter of this year to bring its oil supplies to Czechoslovakia close to the originally agreed volume.

Under the Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement to the beginning of 1990, the Soviet Union was to supply to Czechoslovakia this year a total of 16.6 million tonnes of oil. In the first half of 1990 it supplied 1,024 million tonnes of oil less than planned, and in July only 939,000 tonnes while the plan provided for 1.4 million tonnes.

Vladimir Dlouhy and Yuriy Maslyukov also discussed economic cooperation next year when trade between the two countries will start to be done in convertible currency.

Certain problems in the two countries' trade stem from the fact that Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union must take into consideration in conceiving their mutual cooperation both changes in the sphere of enterprises and also relations between particular republics, i.e., Republics of the USSR, and the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Further Reportage

WA0208132290

For Soviet media reportage of the visit by Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy to the Soviet Union, please see the East Europe section of the 2 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Military Delegation's U.S. Visit Seen Successful

AU0108141990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 28 Jul 90 p 6

[Ivan Horsky commentary: "Successful First Contacts"]

[Text] Not once since the establishment of the joint Czech and Slovak state has such a high-ranking military delegation as the one headed recently by Major General Anton Slimak, first deputy defense minister and chief of the General Staff, made a visit across the "pond."

However, the visit to the United States and Canada was not only made out of politeness; its purpose was, in particular, to establish the first contacts between their Armed Forces and our Army, as well as to exchange practical experiences for developing democratic structures in this—still necessary—social component, a process in which our country is only at the elementary stage. Therefore, our officers toured several military bases with great interest and familiarized themselves with the training and lives of U.S. and Canadian professional soldiers. At the same time, they had an opportunity to compare their military way of life with ours. After all, it is assumed that our newly conceived military doctrine will also orient the CSFR toward professionalizing its Armed Forces.

Political and military problems were also on the agenda of the talks. This was primarily the case during the discussions at the Pentagon and during the reception given by U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney. The situation in Europe—first and foremost the issues connected with reducing the number of Armed Forces and weapons—was at the center of attention. The result was a concurrence that an agreement should be reached at the appropriate Vienna negotiations prior to the summit meeting involving the signatory countries to the pan-European conference, planned for Paris in the fall. The U.S. side welcomed the 30 percent reduction in the size of the Czechoslovak Army; this reduction fully corresponds to the objectives of the gradual disarmament taking place on the old continent.

It is pleasing that our soldiers agreed to expand mutual contacts and cooperation while they were across the ocean. First and foremost, this involves contacts and cooperation with U.S. units stationed in West Germany. This is very advantageous in view of their geographical proximity. Apart from this, as Major General Slimak stressed, contacts have already been planned between experts from military schools and special units. In this connection, the U.S. offer of long-term courses to train special purpose units is very interesting.

However, during the talks with Colin Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, questions regarding the conversion of military industries were also raised. This is understandable because the concerns that our republic has will obviously soon be topical across the ocean, because the expected reduction in the Armed Forces—and in the military budget—is causing great alarm among Pentagon suppliers, and is also being reflected in the social sphere. Americans have had significant experience in this area during the postwar period, but now the concerns are qualitatively different.

The dialogue that has been established is a beginning, a successful one, but still a beginning. Both sides are aware of this. Therefore, they have agreed that it is necessary to intensify contacts. The invitation to visit the CSFR extended to Secretary Cheney and General Powell by Major General Slimak can contribute to this. Military contacts, strictly official and kept to a minimum in past

years, have now rid themselves of their ideological animosity. A consequence of this animosity was that Europe, in particular during the past 40 years, has been changed into a dump for all kinds of weapons. Happily, the end of the cold war—let us hope—will enable us to reduce the number of troops and their weapons to the lowest possible level, so that in Europe the sound of gunfire will be heard during military exercises, under tight mutual supervision, which will guarantee trust and security for states and their citizens, both in civilian clothes and in uniform.

Pithart Interviewed on Visit to U.S.

LD0108210990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Interview with Czech Premier Petr Pithard by correspondent Jozef Knizat in Washington, D.C.; date not given—recorded; correspondent speaks in Slovak]

[Excerpts] [Pithart] In the United States of America, we have visited three main centers of our fellow countrymen in Detroit, Cleveland, and Chicago. [passage omitted on Pithart plans to visit fellow countrymen in the United States, as they were ignored by the previous government]

I felt indebted to them and felt that we had to apologize to them for everything that happened in the past and establish contacts with them that would enrich us all. I have a feeling that we have fulfilled our ambition. The meeting was richer than what we had imagined in Prague.

[Correspondent] Mr Premier, you have established many contacts and reinstated the original ones. How do you see the future both personally and as premier?

[Pithart] We have visited the three aforementioned towns in which the Czechoslovak National Council in the United States has a strong foothold, and we have talked to the officials of the Council as well as to dozens and hundreds of its members about a variety of subjects; more about the future than about the past.

They include people who, more or less, succeeded in the United States and who have exactly the same sort of experience that we lack. Many of them can be very valuable to us because of their experience. Many have already been to Czechoslovakia. Consular representations should be set up in Chicago, Cleveland, New York, and in California, which is populated by Czechs who are now intensely interested in cooperation with Czechoslovakia.

Austrian Energy Aid Offer Viewed 'Skeptically'

AU0108130690 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Jul 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Austrian Energy with Question Marks"]

[Text] Bratislava—As a consideration for closing the V-1 nuclear power plant in Jaslovske Bohunice, Austria has proposed to assist the CSFR with electric power. Engineer Karel Cesnek, Slovak Power Industries general director deputy, expressed his opinion on this proposal.

He said in his declaration, among other things, that in view of the known situation in Austrian power production, we regard the relatively large supply of 880 megawatts from Austria skeptically. It was later confirmed by Osterreichische Elektrizitatswirtschaft AG (Verbundgesellschaft), the most preeminent element of Austrian power production, that the assistance may apply to a very short period of two weeks in a year, during which the technological situation in the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant could be evaluated by independent foreign experts. There is, therefore, no solution to the long-term power supply problem, and the proposals presented do not contain the question of financial arrangements. Moreover, the existing power lines that are in use allow only the transfer of up to 550 megawatts. It is also necessary to point out the fact that the existing power lines are used for energy transfers of up to 400 megawatts between Poland and Austria. Should such a transfer be cut, a financial compensation to Poland would have to be negotiated.

The most serious problem, however, lies in the transformation of the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant output to a voltage other than that which can be used in cooperation between Austria and the CSFR. A time-consuming transformation from 400 kilovolts to 220 kilovolts would have to be worked out.

New Border Crossing to FRG Opens

LD0108201190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Excerpt] A new border crossing opened today along our border with the FRG near Domazlice, specifically at Liskova Hel, near Klenci pod Cerchovem. For the time being, just as with a number of other crossings, it will serve merely pedestrians, cyclists, and drivers of small motorcycles, every day from 0900 to 2100 [0700 - 1900 GMT]. About 4,000 people crossed both ways this morning. The entire day was quite festive. [passage omitted]

Commentary Criticizes Antall Comment on Minorities

AU0108133990 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 27 Jul 90 p 1

[Josef Ruttkay commentary: "Jozsef Antall Declaration"]

[Text] We are slowly forgetting the times when there was a "cucumber season" in the press. It would not even be worth mentioning if, in the summer heat, our modest mass media did not carry reports which verbally put various activities in motion.

This time the fuss was caused by the premier of neighboring Hungary, Jozsef Antall. Through press agencies and NEPSZABADSAG, we have obtained reports on the "balanced Hungarian foreign policy." We could ask, of

course, what kind of scales are needed for attaining such balance, but, given the situation, we should rather ask the prime minister whether such a "balance"—about which we will talk later—also takes into consideration the status of the Slovak minority in Hungary. The Hungarian premier said, in front of his diplomats, that "it is impossible to have good relations with countries that treat Hungarian minorities unjustly." Immediately afterward he says that, for Hungary, it is the situation of the Hungarian minority living abroad that matters most.

Again, in one breath, Mr. Antall declared himself the premier of 15 million Hungarians. (As far as we know, 10.6 million Hungarians live in Hungary.)

We should ask the question of how Mr. Antall wants to administer the life of Hungarian minorities around the world; for example, in neighboring Czechoslovakia.

We believe that Premier Calfa should ask his Hungarian colleague exactly this question at the forthcoming pentagonal meeting in Venice.

We have a lot in common; however, we definitely do not encourage governments and their representatives to judge whether the ethnic minorities in other sovereign states are treated equitably or not.

If we had to solve a similar problem, then it would be necessary to decipher the concept of justice in such relations. Yes, it would be possible to decipher it, but bilaterally.

Despite the fact that during the aforementioned meeting, Mr. Antall said that he had "good-neighborly relations" with us, we do not think that he, or representatives of the Hungarian Government or of some other institution, should be a judge of the fairness applied toward the Hungarian minority in the Czechoslovak Republic. Certainly, more than one problem will have to be solved within the framework of the Pentagonal Group. If this association really wants to be "constructive," as stated in its opening declaration, then it will have to deal with such statements as Mr. Antall's declaration made during this hot summer.

In this sense Premier Calfa can support himself in Venice not only by using the talks with interim President Arpad Goncz, but also by the convincing argument of Dr. Geza Jeszensky, the Hungarian Democratic Forum's Foreign Committee chief: "We have always believed that the aforementioned question (the continuation of Hungarian foreign policy—editorial note) can be satisfactorily solved only through cooperation with the governments of neighboring countries and on the basis of establishing relations with various international forums."

Public Against Violence is inclined to such cooperation between the two parties.

GDR To Maintain Unfavorable Trade Balance

LD0108202490 Prague CTK in English 1936 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By CTK correspondent]

[Text] Berlin Aug 1 (CTK)—GDR Government Spokeswoman Angela Merckel told CTK here today that the GDR side wants to maintain the unfavourable development in Czechoslovaki-GDR trade "within certain limits" and clear mutual payments in roubles this year as provided for in bilateral agreements.

This stand will be submitted also by GDR Economy Minister Gerhard Pohl when he arrives in Prague next week, the spokeswomen added.

Czechoslovakia has a high deficit in its trade with the GDR due to the monetary union between the two German states which became effective on July 1. GDR enterprises have already cancelled or plan to cancel a number of agreements on imports of Czechoslovak goods which may bring the deficit up to 800 million roubles, i.e., 70 per cent of the planned Czechoslovak exports to the GDR in 1990. This situation was discussed by the GDR Government here today.

EC Financial Assistance Expectations Discussed

AU0108172990 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

[Marcela Doleckova report: "The Brussels Bank Will Turn on the Tap"]

[Text] "I am leaving your country with a solid impression of what is going on in its economy and with a belief in its future, which results from the fundamental factors in this country, factors which it is not necessary to repeat," declared Henning Christophersen, vice president of the EC Commission, when he departed from Prague at the end of last week, following his two-day visit.

I have heard similar optimistic assessments in recent months from various Western economists and politicians, as well as a number of entrepreneurs. If the statement made by the vice president of the EC Commission seems to me to be worthy of repeating verbatim, it is because it was supplemented with a specific offer. The high-ranking visitor from Brussels will recommend to the EC Council of Ministers that Brussels provide the European Investment Bank with a guarantee to cover a loan for Czechoslovakia amounting to 400 million ECU's [European Currency Units]. This banking establishment—mainly intended to operate within the West European twelve—is a commercial institution, but it also makes loans with a relatively long maturity period (seven to ten years) and with advantageous credit rates. The credit rate level was not divulged to us.

Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said to me that neither the bank nor Brussels itself will determine the allocation of the loan. The government is considering industry, transportation,

and the infrastructure in general; as Vladimir Dlouhy said, he will endeavor to ensure that at least part of it is used to support small- and medium-sized businesses.

Brussels' "bank" commitment was, of course, not the only reason why the government invited the EC Commission vice president to Prague. The reason was more general: to give Brussels an opportunity to evaluate, on the spot, the government's concept of economic reform and its step by step stages. The main thing is that Henning Christophersen evaluated the concept and the partial steps positively. So much so that he will recommend that the Council of Ministers support these steps beyond just making a proclamation of support for them. It is possible to deduce from this that Brussels will also contribute to the stabilizing fund. On the one hand, this fund is intended to make the import of goods easier so that—following the liberalization of prices—a competitive environment is created for our spoiled monopolies and, on the other hand, to help with the internal convertibility of the koruna. I do not doubt that during the first stage, to say the least, pressure for the purchase of convertible currencies will be considerable and, if the government's objective is to succeed, it must have sufficient hard currency at its disposal.

Vladimir Dlouhy refused to reveal the size of the fund, but he vehemently denied speculation in the West European press that the government will need to have its back covered by at least $4 billion. He literally said: "This estimate is very, very high."

Of course, Brussels will not be alone in contributing to the fund. A loan from the IMF is envisaged which, in its own way, is a sign of the fund's approval for our economic reform. Incidentally, the fund's positive attitude toward the plans for the koruna's convertibility is regarded by Brussels as a guarantee that it will also participate in this activity. This indicates how important it is for the government to play its game on several foreign fields, because one thing is normally conditioned by another. IMF membership is considered to be so prestigious that it opens doors that are otherwise firmly shut, including those that lead to Brussels' financial sources.

In September another stage in the Prague-Brussels negotiations will begin. Henning Christophersen spoke about them as second generation talks. At that time, perhaps, we should be a member of the IMF which is, obviously, the very condition for the second generation talks. Moreover, at the news conference, the EC Commission vice president mentioned something else that is interesting. He said that the GDR is receiving absolutely exceptional aid from Bonn and that it would not be politically requisite for the other "socialist" countries to lag behind the GDR. Therefore, Brussels has resolved to help.

I personally believe that the 11 other EC countries are not very pleased at the speed with which West German capital is penetrating the GDR (a rather undiplomatically vociferous statement on this subject cost Nicholas Ridley his ministerial seat in Her Britannic Majesty's government). Somehow these 11 members want to compensate the other East European countries, in particular, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary. I have nothing against them for this, especially since only advantages can come out of it for us.

Through Henning Christophersen, Brussels has assured us that we are not beggars and that Brussels is not offering us gifts, but is offering us commercial relations. Whether this involved diplomatic flattery or not, we can help our economy with the proper manipulation of the offered sums. The government's first moves on the foreign and economic chessboard were, obviously, played well.

RFE To Broadcast From CSFR Territory

AU0108164690 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 31 Jul 90 p 1

["(vb)"-signed report: "Radio Free Europe Instead of Radio Station 'Czechoslovakia'"] .

[Text] It depends only on technological problems whether, as of 1 August, Radio Free Europe [RFE] will broadcast on the wave length of Czechoslovak medium-wave radio stations. This was made possible by the agreement between the representatives of RFE and the Czech and Slovak Administration of Radio Communications signed in Prague on 19 July. Eugene Pell, director of RFE and Radio Liberty, stated that the decision made by the Czechoslovak Government to put Czechoslovak radio stations at the disposal of RFE is the most evident proof of the importance and of the recognition which RFE enjoys. This magnanimity of the Czechoslovak Government surprises me, to say the least: RFE is not an independent broadcasting company, but a radio station financed from the U.S. Congress' budget. No doubt, our relations toward the United States have changed fundamentally, but there is no known example of another country which would place its radio stations at the disposal of the parliament of some other country, no matter how friendly they might be.

Calfa Returns From Pentagonal Meeting

LD0108223290 Prague CTK in English 2041 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa returned here tonight from a two-day visit to Venice where he participated as head of a Czechoslovak delegation in a summit meeting of the Pentagonal initiative.

The Pentagonal group members are Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Representatives of the pentagonal group countries approved a political declaration and a program on cooperation for 1990-92 which sets joint projects in the spheres of transport, energy, ecology, informatics, culture and tourism.

Vacek on Drop in Number of Career Soldiers

LD0108203590 Prague CTK in English 1901 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Prague August 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Army General Miroslav Vacek today said that 12,000 young people, most of them soldiers doing their military service, but also those to start it, have applied for alternative civil service since the respective law was passed in March.

Visiting military garrisons in Pardubice and Hradec Kralove, East Bohemia, the minister added that the number of career soldiers has dropped by some 8,000 of those who left the Army for civil life at their own request since the start of this year.

Drafts of New Environmental Laws Presented

AU0108130990

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 27 July on page 3 publishes a 600-word interview with Bohuslav Pavlik, LLD., director of the Czech Republic Environment Ministry Legislative and Legal Department, by Blanka Ruzickova, HOSPODARSKE NOVINY correspondent, entitled "Drafting Laws on the Environment; For Protection of Nature." The place and date of the interview are not given. According to Director Pavlik, no comprehensive law on the environment exists in Czechoslovakia, and the Laws On the Protection of Nature and On Polluting the Atmosphere are antiquated. Pavlik states that at the beginning of this year the newly established Ministry of the Environment "was entrusted with the task of preparing four new draft laws: on the environment, on the protection of nature and landscape, on protection of the atmosphere, and on waste management." The Law on the Environment is, according to Pavlik, the key one. It is being prepared as a federal law, and it should be, Pavlik says, a constitutional law. He elaborates on the law by describing the four principles on which it is based—emission (pollution to be eliminated at the source), admission (limits to be set for assessing damages caused by pollutants admitted to the environment), prevention, and recovery.

Pavlik further says that, according to the new concept of the Law on the Protection of Nature and Landscape, the national parks will not be established by a government decree but by the law. "Protection zones should be introduced for national reserves, protected natural formations, and for protected trees."

The bills on the protection of the atmosphere and on waste management are completed, but there are six additional bills and amendments to be dealt with, Pavlik says. The laws, which correspond to the international regulations, should be adopted during the second half of 1990, and in effect as of 1 January 1991.

Environmentalists Meet in Prague 29 Jul

AU0108151290 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Jul 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Jointly About the Environment"]

[Text] Interconnecting state institutions responsible for the quality of the environment with the representatives of legislative organs and with other interested institutions, and becoming a tool for a flexible and effective cooperation in the sphere of the protection of environment—these are the goals of the Federal Committee for Environment Collegium, which met at its first unofficial meeting in Prague yesterday [29 July].

It accepted the federal government's report on the approval of the state ecological policy concept with satisfaction. A list of ecological programs and projects was discussed and the committee consulted with the delegation of the EC. During a four-day debate, members of this delegation accepted Czechoslovak proposals, and they will provide financial means in the anticipated amount of 30 million European Currency Units for their realization within this year. The issue is—as, for example, in the evaluation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project—securing the quality of drinkable water, the neutralization of dangerous waste, the improvement of nuclear equipment safety, and the purification of waste water (Prague, Bratislava), etc. The details are supposed to be made by September.

Another issue during the debate was the preparation of the conference of EC Environment Ministers and Central and East European countries' Environment Ministers, which is supposed to take place in Prague in January to February 1991.

The collegium also dealt with the questions of nuclear security—particularly in connection with the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant—and with the intentions to reorganize the state administration in this area. The necessity of improving and interconnecting the breakdown crews on a nationwide scale was also stated.

Another issue was cooperation between republican and federal organs during the preparation of new legal regulations on the protection of environment. An accelerated solution to the critical situation in Northern Bohemia was also discussed. The main problem is the desulphurization of power plants. A cooperation with Scandinavian countries is intended.

The collegium strictly disagrees with organizing large sporting events and other activities in national parks; this applies mainly to the possibility of organizing the Winter Olympic Games in Slovakia.

Deputy Minister Ruml on State Security Screening

AU0108134990 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 30 Jul 90 p 2

["(zc)"-signed report: "The KGB Heritage Survives"]

[Text] Moscow— The weekly MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI carried a one-page interview with J. Ruml, CSFR deputy interior minister.

In his interview, Ruml explains the process of discharging and screening State Security officials. He explains that it will be necessary to follow the discharged personnel, since some of them continue to work against the new regime. "It cannot be ruled out that they will attempt to unite. Close ties between our State Security and the KGB, and the fact that the entire country is crawling with the agents of both institutions, must not be forgotten."

I doubt, Ruml continues, that the State Security personnel succeeded in destroying all the documents and archives after the revolution. "We assume that some of the documents are now in Moscow. It is an assumption only, however, which I cannot prove. But I know that the Soviet Embassy in Prague is visited by one of the former State Security chiefs, Mr. Vykypel, and I also know that a number of KGB agents are still officially working at the Soviet Embassy."

In the next part of his interview, Ruml explains future tasks of the ministry and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, which is directly subordinate to the president. This office will not have the right to conduct investigations and to arrest people. "It will never work in KGB-style State Security. We do not have contacts with the KGB or with the Soviet Interior Ministry. The intelligence service, in fact, is nonexistent; we have recalled all its agents. Those who studied at the KGB College will not be penalized, but they will have to go through screening commissions. In the future, they will not be allowed to do what they have done so far, because we do not know who would continue working for the KGB, and who would work in the interests of Czechoslovakia."

J. Ruml inherited difficult tasks, the weekly writes, and in addition to this, after the presidential amnesty, crime rose significantly. He is not a professional, he is not a lawyer, nor is he an investigator. President Havel is not a professional politician either. New representatives have only their experience from the fight against injustice, support from the people, and faith in their ideals. Whether they will manage to prove the correctness of their ideals, and make their country blossom, will depend on how fast the former dissidents become statesmen, NOVOSTI writes.

People's Party Rehabilitates Bartoncik

AU0108152990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 30 Jul 90 p 1

["(IK)," "(ELS)," and "(IV)"-signed report: "The Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee Has Held a Session"]

[Excerpts] The Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Central Committee convened in Prague's Charitas Hall until late on Saturday [28 July] evening. [passage omitted]

After the planning commission had been elected, the first issue to be discussed was the one which has most interested the CSL membership base and the general public—the Bartoncik case. The CSL Central Committee members listened to reports from the Party Arbitration Committee, from the CSL secretary general's consultative committee on the Czech Republic prosecutor general's materials pertaining to the Ruml versus Bartoncik case, and from Dr. R. Sacher, member of the CSL Central Committee Presidium. It is stated in the Party Arbitration Committee's official report, delivered by Committee Chairman Dr. M. Vyborny that the committee—which last discussed the issue on 27 July—considers the CSL leadership's point of view on the Dr. J. Bartoncik case—published in LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE on 5 July—to be consistent with the political situation and with the knowledge of the facts to date. Nothing was presented in the party's viewpoint which would convince the public of Dr. Bartoncik's collaboration with the State Security. The Party Arbitration Committee states that the information made public to date undoubtedly had, and still is having, a political impact. However, it is impossible to consider as evidence the claims that Dr. Bartoncik was an agent.

It arises from the submitted information that the Czech republic prosecutor general is still conducting criminal proceedings in the matter of the criminal acts of slander and marring the preparation and course of the elections. These proceedings were initiated on the basis of a complaint submitted by the CSL. Before these criminal proceedings were taken, from which only some evidence was submitted to the Federal Assembly, no other criminal procedures had been conducted.

Dr. J. Bartoncik was one of the first to speak in the discussion. He expressed his gratitude for the support given to him and once again rejected all the accusations. He informed the CSL Central Committee members about some of the more confidential details of the affair. One of the new facts made known to those present is the information that the registration card, made public in some mass media, is the registration card for a person under surveillance and is not the card for an agent, which looks completely different. Dr. J. Bartoncik's statement was received with thunderous applause. A number of CSL Central Committee members then took part in an extensive discussion in which some of them reproached the CSL Central Committee Presidium for not coming to the CSL chairman's defense quickly enough and, thus, causing the party to lose some of its prestige.

When voting on this issue, the majority of CSL Central Committee members expressed their trust in Dr. J. Bartoncik and annulled the resolution adopted at the last CSL Central Committee session which prevented him from executing his post as party chairman. [passage omitted]

Public Against Violence, Civic Forum Meet

LD0108204490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Representatives of Coordination Centers of Public Against Violence [PAV] and Civic Forum met in the Mozart House in Bratislava today. Apart from reporting on the changes in organization structure, they discussed the need to exchange information. This will not be institutionalized, but it will be a regular exchange of information, including political consultations between the representatives of the movements.

The Civic Forum representatives showed exceptional interest in the problems of relations between our nations. The PAV representatives conveyed the dissatisfaction of the public with the perseverance of old structures, which are hampering reforms and heighten tension in enterprises. The Civic Forum and PAV will demand that the government bodies quickly deal with this situation. The representatives of Coordination Centers of Civic Forum and PAV were received in the afternoon by the Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar.

Christian Democrats Republican Committee Session

LD0208104290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] The Republican Committee of the Christian Democratic Party, which ended its session late last night, has decided to prepare publication of an independent periodical, which would be a spokesman of the political right wing. It has ruled that each local organization or group should set its own approach for the forthcoming local elections, including the selection of allies and coalition partners according to specific local conditions, excluding the CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], however. The Republican Committee of the Christian Democratic Party spoke at the same time in favor of an accelerated implementation of economic reform.

Czechoslovak Socialist Party Presidium Meets

LD0108165490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Socialist Party Presidium has discussed the further activity of its publishing house Melantrich and the daily of the party, SVOBODNE SLOVO. It conveyed to the director of the publishing house (?Milan Nevole) and the editor in chief of the daily, Lubomir Petrik, the criticism of the party members on the situation in the party press.

The presidium approved the dismissal of deputy editor in chief of SVOBODNE SLOVO, Marta (?Bystrovova). The presidium also discussed the cases of the willful public appearances of some members of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party on behalf of the party and drew consequences from it. It expelled from the party Cestmir Cejka, member of its Central Committee.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee Presidium also acquainted itself with the Czech National Council bill of laws on municipalities and elections into municipal election bodies. It pointed to what it calls an undemocratic character of the proposed majority system and the insufficient definition of jurisdiction of election commissions.

Slovak Heritage Foundation Rejects Separatism

AU0108175990 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Jul 90 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Slovak Heritage Foundation's Principal Standpoint"]

[Text] Bratislava— The Slovak Heritage Foundation's General Assembly will meet again after 18 years. On 10 and 11 September, the city of Martin will be the scene of an important meeting that will assess developments made up to now and the prospects of this nationwide institution. At yesterday's news conference, its representatives discussed the meeting's agenda and the celebrations, but, above all, the Slovak Heritage Foundation's activity and standpoints toward current affairs.

Journalists were interested in the foundation's cooperation with not only the Slovaks living abroad, but also with other nationalities living within our territory. According to the Slovak Heritage Foundation's leading representatives, despite the great interest in establishing closer contacts with Csemadok, all attempts to do so had little success. It is the cooperation with this organization in particular which could make the foundation's operation in south Slovakia—where the Slovaks are less represented in the ethnically mixed districts—easier. The Slovak Heritage Foundation's representatives, whose creed is tolerance and mutual respect, have unequivocally rejected the declaration made by "Egyutteles-Spoluzitie," a political movement for minorities' rights, which labelled the foundation as chauvinist and nationalist. They adopted essential arguments against the separatist tendencies of some Slovak associations abroad aimed at the departure of Slovakia from the union with the Czech Republic. "We are not for an independent Slovakia, but for a sovereign Slovakia," they stressed.

Journalist were informed that any parallel between Viliam Gruska's resignation from the position of chairman and the vetting scandals is unjustified and false. For serious family reasons, he resigned from his function during the Slovak Heritage Foundation's meeting on 20 June.

Czech Weekly Berated for Attitude Toward Slovaks

AU0108145790

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 30 July on page 2 carries a 450-word commentary by Igor Cibula, entitled "Who Is in the Background?" In the introduction, the commentary recalls

the scandal that arose after the Prague daily SVOBODNE SLOVO had criticized Andrej Hlinka and then continues by criticizing the Prague weekly FORUM for publishing the article entitled "Does Vladimir Meciar Have a Weakness For Communists and State Security?" According to the commentary, this is another way in which Czechs negatively depict everything that is happening in Slovakia.

The commentary states that "the Prague weekly FORUM's intention is not to cleanse society from the old structures, but to intervene in the political conflict between individuals who were appointed to their positions by the former interior minister and those whom they consider as their potential opponents. The end result is a political confrontation on which those from the Prague center, who are not in favor of the Slovak cause, want to parasitically feed."

Autonomy Demanded for Moravia, Silesia

AU0208082790

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 27 July on pages 1 and 5 publishes a 1,100-word interview with Vaclav Tomis, LLD., Federal Assembly deputy representing the Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia, by Miloslav Hradil, RUDE PRAVO correspondent, entitled "We Do Not Want To Break the State." The place and date of the interview are not given. The interviewer refers to the frequent accusations of the Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia of separatism and nationalism, which Tomis refutes as attempts to denigrate the movement. He asserts that his movement does not want to break the republic. "On the contrary, we want to cement it together. We are trying for a unified state with equal union lands and autonomous communities. Only such a state can be, we believe, strong and firm." For 1,200 years, he continues, Moravia and Silesia were an autonomous region, and the rights of which this territory was deprived by the totalitarian rule should be restored. He even opines that "should the rehabilitation of Moravia and Silesia be hindered, the possibility of nationalist passions flaring up cannot be excluded." Responding to a question on the topic, Tomis maintains that the concept of territorial autonomy based on the national principles is not plausible because "due to the population migration, no state can be typically uninational." There could be more than three union lands in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, he says. It would not lead to increases in administration because the federal and republican governments would be reduced concurrently with the establishment of the land self-administration. It would also mean the establishment of autonomous economies, or that the resources raised in the land stay in the land. At the conclusion of the interview, Tomis admits that his movement does not have much support from other deputies elected in Moravia. "We are not surprised by Civic Forum, in which a strong Pragocentrism is evident, but it is unexpected from the others." The Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia, he adds, considers any centralism to be harmful, and the administrative bodies in Moravia and Silesia should be distributed among the major cities.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, materials on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

Meckel Condemns Iraq; Urges Troop Withdrawal

LD0208102190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0943 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel called upon Iraq to withdraw its troops immediately from Kuwaiti territory. In a press statement released today, Meckel expressed his concern about the renewed aggravation of the situation in the Persian Gulf and condemned the use of military force.

According to the foreign minister, international disputes must be settled by means of negotiations, with respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. The GDR supports all initiatives which promote a political solution to the conflict.

Meckel Favors German-Polish 'Basic Treaty'

LD0208090890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0801 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel came out in favor on Thursday [2 August] of a basic treaty on the settlement of relations between Poland and the united Germany. Speaking to the Polish newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY about German unity, he says that it should include commitment to equal political and economic relations with Poland. What matters is to make a start on new and very intensive neighborly contacts. The aim is the lasting reconciliation and friendship between the two peoples following great historical strains, for which the Germans bear a special responsibility.

Speaking of the numerous economic problems arising from the creation of German unity, Meckel mentions above all the bone of contention caused by the difference in [living] standards between the economically strong united Germany and its economically weak neighbors. To prevent this from becoming a conflict between nations, one has to be careful to ensure that nationalistic forces are given no scope, the GDR foreign minister said. At the same time, he points to the need for urgent action on the alleviation of travel [restrictions] between the two countries, and in so doing once again questions the requirement of an invitation for Polish visitors to the GDR. The aim must be visa-free travel between Germany and Poland.

PDS Assured of Continued Gorbachev Support

LD0108175690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1727 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The CPSU has assured the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] of its continued support. In a personal letter from Mikhail Gorbachev to PDS leader Gregor Gysi, sent in mid-June and published on Wednesday, the CPSU general secretary and president of the Soviet Union expressed esteem for the "comradely relations existing between the two parties." "The sympathies and the solidarity of Soviet Communists always will belong to the Party of Democratic Socialism."

Gorbachev notes "with satisfaction" that both parties advocate shared positions on German unity. In the process of unification, it depended "to an essential degree" on the "mutual understanding between left-wing forces," striven for by the PDS, "whether the future German state" would move along "the path of democracy and peace." At the same time, the president points out that the Soviet Union still would work "determinedly for its rights, for the interests of European peace, and international security."

Ruble Transactions To End 31 Jan 91

LD0108161390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1511 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Treaties concluded on trade receivables and payables in transferable rubles, including all payments in transferable rubles, between the GDR and Poland, the CSFR, Hungary, Romania, or Bulgaria, are to be completed by 31 January 1991 at the latest. A statement conveyed to ADN by the Economics Ministry says that after that date no more payments in transferable rubles are possible. Banks have been instructed to close the relevant clearing accounts by 2400 31 January 1991.

The statement adds that negotiations by the Economics Ministry with China, Yugoslavia, Vietnam, Korea, Laos, Cambodia, Albania, Cuba, and Mongolia to convert payment transactions beginning 1 January 1991 are to begin this month. Deals against transferable rubles or through clearing with these countries will no longer be possible for 1991 and beyond.

Defense Ministry Reports on Scrapping Hardware

LD0108173490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1526 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Since the unilateral disarmament measures announced in 1989, the National People's Army (NVA) has liquidated 331 tanks, of which 307 have been scrapped and 24 reequipped. The Ministry for Disarmament and Defense added today that 269 tanks will undergo the same fate by the end of the year. Of the fifty MiG-21 aircraft selected, 35 have been turned into scrap and 15 have been converted into simulators for officer training or museum purposes. In addition, they have destroyed 87 pieces of artillery, 15,616 atomatic

pistols, 269 armored personnel carriers, five ramps, and 15 air defense antiaircraft missiles, 716 "Ural" and other vehicles, as well as about 3,000 tonnes of ammunition. Nearly 7,000 motor vehicles and sapper equipment worth 7.5 million GDR marks have been sold.

The present disarmament balance sheet also includes a change in the legal status of about 50 bases and grounds in all parts of the GDR since early 1990. This has taken place, among other places, in Glowe, Mahlow, Beeskow, Haenichen (Niesky District/Kreis), Crimmitschau, Karlshagen, Strausberg, and Berlin-Johannisthal. According to the ministry, approximately 110 additional bases are currently being "prepared for civilian use." Users' treaties have, for example, already been concluded in Oranienburg, Gotha, Eeppendorf, Leipzig-Markkleeberg, Loebau, Bautzen, Plauen, and Sonneberg. Of the 400 or so bases, above all of the border troops, which will "no longer be used for military purposes" by 1992, 130 will be made available until the end of the year. The ministry had made available 26 bases for asylum applicants.

The equipment selected for conversion will be dismantled in eight sites: Neubrandenburg (repair works), Ostritz (equipement depot), Vogelsang (ammunition maintenance), Doberlug-Kirchhain (maintenance), Hennersdorf (missile equipment depot), Wolfsruh (materials depot), Drewitz (fighter wing), and Rothenburg (pilot training wing).

The Disarmament and Defense Ministry points out that at present the GDR border troops are being dissolved, the extent of mobilization is being reduced, and agreements at the government level on evaluating NVA assets on a trust basis are being prepared.

SPD's Boehme Criticizes Attitude Toward PDS

AU0208095890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Jul 90 p 1

[ADN/ND report: "Boehme Criticizes SPD's Course of Distancing Itself From the PDS"]

[Excerpt] Bonn—Ibrahim Boehme, former chairman of the GDR Social Democratic Party [SPD], has criticized the SPD leadership's strict course of distancing itself from the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS]. "I consider this politically wrong, because it gives a great number of people the opportunity to point their fingers in one specific direction, to attribute guilt, and to push away the question of their own guilt and responsibility," he said on the Parliamentary-Political Press Service on Monday [30 July]. He thinks that the PDS leaders, some of whom he knows from the time before the changes occurred, are democrats. The SPD politician also called on his party to permit "corrective elements to the left of itself" and to, therefore, deal differently with the PDS.

Boehme defended his participation in the founding assembly of the "Left List/PDS" election alliance in Cologne over the weekend [28- 29 July], but came out against a joint list of the Social Democrats with the PDS at the first all-German elections. [passage omitted]

SPD, DSU Criticize Boehme Comments

AU0208101890 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 31 Jul 90 p 1

[Christian Muenter and Olaf Opitz report: "DSU Says Ibrahim Boehme Helps PDS"]

[Text] East Berlin—The Social Democratic Party [SPD] reacted with great anger to the appearance of its People's Chamber Deputy Ibrahim Boehme at the FRG founding congress of the "Left List/PDS" [Party of Democratic Socialism] election alliance. In Cologne, Boehme had defended the PDS and Gysi [PDS chairman] against "unqualified attacks" and called them "one of the new democratic forces" and a "necessary corrective element."

SPD parliamentary group Chairman Schroeder told DER MORGEN that Boehme's "inappropriate undertaking" had not been coordinated with the party. He called the PDS a "hybrid," which wants to be the legal successor of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] as far as assets are concerned but has refused to deal with the old burdens of Stalinism.

Klaus-Hubert Fugger, press spokesman for the German Social Union [DSU], said that the DSU is "shocked" about Boehme's "camaraderie" with the SED successor. The SPD politician is making himself the "helper" of the PDS in dealing with the Western leftists. As early as June, the West SPD had problems with distancing itself from the PDS. At that time Bundestag Deputy Juergen Egert warned against "fears of getting close and bans on discussions."

The "Left List/PDS" is an explosive issue in particular for the FRG Greens. Michael Stamm, strategic expert of the Green Alternative List (GAL) in Hamburg, will become Gregor Gysi's adviser. In West Berlin the splitting of the Greens/Alternatives is imminent because a major group of alternative fundamentalists from Kreuzberg joined the party. This is a "separation from some people which has long been due," parliamentary group spokeswoman Marianne Birthler of Alliance 90 said.

Correction to Stasi Involvement in RAF Murders

WA0108183190

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Security Expert: Stasi Involved in RAF Murders," published in the 18 July East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 30:

Column one, first full paragraph, first sentence, make read: ...in assassination attempts by West German RAF... (changing word "on" to "by.")

Presidential Elections Scheduled for 3 Aug

LD0208131590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1250 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Statement read by National Assembly Speaker Szabad at a National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly—an important announcement: Regarding the resolution brought just now on the referendum, and also referring to paragraph 29B of our Constitution, I set the date for the election of the president of the republic for 3 August, Friday, at 1000. I call the attention of my esteemed fellow deputies that their presence will be required here by 0945.

Antall, Jeszensky Return From Venice Summit

Antall Interview

LD0208115390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by reporter Istvan Kulcsar on the return flight from Venice, Italy, "yesterday"; date not given]

[Text] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall gave an interview to our colleague Istvan Kulcsar yesterday in the airplane on his return journey. In the first part of the conversation, the head of government said that the regional grouping offers opportunities for concrete economic cooperation; however, he added that this does not mean segregation from the European processes. We now present the rest of the interview.

[Begin recording] [Kulcsar] There seems to be a contradiction with you, Mr. Prime Minister. Italian Deputy Prime Minister Martelli and the document are both in favor of the pentagon remaining a pentagon for the time being.

[Antall] I do not think there is a serious contradiction in this; rather, he has emphasized that there is no applicant at the moment. Poland did not apply officially, although when Prime Minister Mazowiecki met Prime Minister Andreotti and me in Budapest, of course he showed interest regarding the pentagonal cooperation. Moreover, I feel that if there is certain cooperation among Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, as suggested by President Havel earlier, then it is just as logical that Poland join in this, too.

[Kulcsar] If another Middle European country applies to join the cooperation, what sort of conditions would that country have to meet?

[Antall] In my view, it would have to meet the same requirements as in the European Council, thus it would have to fulfill the requirements of a parliamentary system, human rights, minority rights protection, and a genuinely democratic system of institutions.

[Kulcsar] Besides talks at the official negotiating table, you met other colleagues at semiofficial meetings.

[Antall] I met Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky, and also the foreign minister. These talks did not have any special, new elements; they were carried out in the spirit of close cooperation, and the Austrian party very much agreed with us on the question of minority rights. They made proposals, which we would have done, had they not preceded us.

Moreover, we came to an agreement with the Yugoslav prime minister, Mr. Markovic, that we will meet in Subotice this fall and there, at a bilateral meeting of ministers, we will discuss Yugoslav-Hungarian cooperation. We have pointed out our stance regarding basic questions and our intention for cooperation which would include the minorities in Yugoslavia and Hungary.

According to our plan, the Hungarian-Italian meeting will take place in the middle of September, regardless of the Italian Government crisis—that is, the dispute within the Christian Democratic Party. We have already postponed this; I planned my present trip to last no more than a day and a half. Besides this, I wish to tie my trip to Rome in with a papal audience. Thus, the trip will take place in the middle of September; I have received a special message from Prime Minister Andreotti, and we have agreed on this. [end recording]

Further Reportage

WA0208113590

For reportage on the speeches and activities of Prime Minister Joszef Antall and Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky at the Pentagonal summit in Venice, please see the International Affairs section of the 31 July West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Arrival in Budapest

LD0108204890 Budapest MTI in English 2018 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 1 (MTI)—Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky returned to Budapest from Venice on Wednesday evening. The Hungarian leaders attended the summit of the Danube-Adria regional conference.

Soviet Authorities To Suspend Border Traffic

LD0108171190 Budapest MTI in English 1530 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 1 (MTI)—As of August 1, the Soviet border guard authorities will temporarily suspend border-zone traffic, the Hungarian border guard and customs and excise office told MTI's correspondent on Wednesday. The relaxations now suspended were effective from March 1, 1989. The measure also affects Hungarian citizens living in Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County.

In the wake of earlier liberalizations, 8 million people, mostly Soviet citizens, crossed the Hungarian-Soviet border in one and a half years. As a consequence of the unilateral move introduced by the Soviet side, traffic at the four road crossings set up for the purpose of border-zone traffic at Lonya, Barabas, Beregsurany and Tiszabecs came to a standstill. At Zahony, only border-zone traffic has stopped, while normal traffic is going smoothly.

Walesa's Political Ambition Considered

PM0208112090 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 30 Jun 90 p 5

[Marian Turski commentary: "Coalition Under New Circumstances: Walesa, Bartoszcze, Mackiewicz"]

[Text] What is it all about? Our readers have been phoning us and writing letters with the same question: about the significance of reaffirming the earlier declaration by the coalition set up by Solidarity (Lech Walesa), the Polish Peasants Party [PSL] (Roman Bartoszcze), and the Democratic Party [SD] (Aleksander Mackiewicz).

The answer seems perfectly simple: It is a move calculated to open the election campaign. It is also of no consequence whether the elections are called even before the end of this year or next year, or whether they are only parliamentary or also presidential elections (after all, the president currently in office has not given us any grounds to deprive him constitutionally of his office as head of state, and it is not at all certain whether he would deem his hypothetical resignation to be in the state's and the public's interest)—instead, all the present political maneuvers are to be viewed as scoring points with the future electorate.

Why are the individual partners in the newly reaffirmed (but for how long?) coalition doing this? The PSL and the SD want to remind us that they can have a say in the final vote, and they want to do it with Walesa's help, as they have done once before. It is a curious thing that this reaffirmed coalition did not utter a word to confirm its principal objective of last year—that is, support for the government which it had itself created. The most peculiar circumstance here is that one of the signatories is at the same time holding the office of cabinet member. The enigmatic answers that he has been giving to the government daily organ in reply to the question against whom the coalition intends to undertake immediate and radical action ("Against the vast matter which surrounds us," "I hold no resentment against anyone. I believe that we should all act efficiently") attest that he himself is fully aware of the peculiarity of his position. But we must remember that, like any other party in Poland, the SD is at present incapable of playing an independent role. Hence the hasty agreement when Lech Walesa—the unquestioned authority—reaches out his hand to them himself.

But why is he doing it? Why does he need it? In the short term, he needs it to repeat his maneuver of a year ago. The only problem is that a year ago this maneuver was directed against the then establishment, whereas today it hits out against today's establishment which, after all, traces its origin to Walesa's own ranks.

Is he doing it for his own individual, personal, ambition-inspired reasons? Most likely for these reasons, too. Some insist that he is doing it predominantly for these reasons. But I would like to move away from this kind of argument and search for political inspirations for his actions.

Lech Walesa possesses a very special political instinct like no one else's. I believe that, regardless of his personal ambitions, he realizes the potential danger that would loom if the poorest and most desperate sections of our society were to lose their patience. Walesa is capable of changing his position from one day to the next, depending on the public mood, which—it must be admitted—he can read like no one else can. In his own way he resembles Chairman Mao-Zedong in his maneuvering. After all, the "cultural revolution" was nothing other than an attempt to steer a new political course against one's own establishment.

All in all, the most important question remains: Can this kind of populist policy serve our society well today? On the face of it, it can, because it delays the possible explosion of impatience. In reality it cannot, because it hampers the slow and difficult process of creating a new democratic order.

Kaczynski Discusses Walesa's Presidential Bid

PM0108152690 Paris LE FIGARO in French 31 Jul 90 p 4

[Interview with Jaroslaw Kaczynski, adviser to Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa, by Pierre Rousselin; place and date not given]

[Text] [Rousselin] What is the aim of the Center Accord?

[Kaczynski] We propose that Walesa should be elected president by the Sejm, then that the government should be reshuffled. Changes should also be decided at all levels of the administration and economic apparatus to put an end to the nomenklatura and to restore clarity to the political situation in Poland. We then want to draw up new electoral rules on the West German model before organizing new parliamentary elections. It is no accident that we are adopting such an order. If we started with elections by direct universal suffrage, it would be likely to hamper the political and economic process.

We must speed up the development of society and weaken the post-communist system, which, despite appearances, is still very powerful. The former communist party, which has become a social democratic party, is small, but it still has great influence. The communist trade union can still mobilize many members.... This system must be weakened. It is only then that we will be able to hold direct elections.

[Rousselin] To do that Jaruzelski would have to resign...?

[Kaczynski] Yes.

[Rousselin] You are in contact with the presidency. Is he prepared to resign?

[Kaczynski] I cannot reveal the tenor of those talks, but I do not think that Jaruzelski's resignation is an insoluble problem.

[Rousselin] It is being said that Jaruzelski does not want Walesa to become president....

[Kaczynski] Yes, that is being said. But the contacts which I have had on this subject enable me to draw an entirely different conclusion. In any case, it is not Jaruzelski who will decide who the next president will be. Only the present dispute within Solidarity gives him room to maneuver.

It is true, however, that Jaruzelski's presence makes our plan difficult to implement. We must find a solution in order to dissolve parliament. If Jaruzelski chooses to cooperate with Mazowiecki rather than with us, it will cost him dearly: He will lose all opportunity of leaving the political scene with dignity. He must decide now. Otherwise it will be increasingly difficult for him to find an honorable solution.

[Rousselin] You advocate Walesa's election by the existing Sejm initially. Is this not paradoxical in view of the fact that you want a rapid end to the power structure inherited from the roundtable agreements?

[Kaczynski] It is a characteristic of this transitional period. There is a group of deputies within parliament who would like to justify themselves before the people if not before history. "We were elected without democracy, but we have acted in accordance with democracy," they like to say. They are moderate people, but they are confused and possibly unhappy....

If that election took place, it would have a provisional nature—lasting between six and 10 months. We would like Walesa, who would initially be an interim president, to then run in new elections after parliament has adopted a new constitution.

[Rousselin] The opinion polls show that Mazowiecki would defeat Walesa in a presidential election by universal suffrage.

[Kaczynski] The Communists too believed the opinion polls. The opinion poll institutes are also the same as before. They have kept the same leadership....

[Rousselin] Was any agreement reached in the six-hour meeting between Mazowiecki and Walesa in early July, or are we just witnessing a pause in the controversy between the two men?

[Kaczynski] I cannot tell you more than what there was in the communique issued after the meeting. That communique shows that things have calmed down somewhat.

[Rousselin] Your opponents say that you are going to "destabilize" Poland with your watchword of "speeding things up." What is your reply?

[Kaczysnki] This is in fact the central subject of the conflict. The danger of destabilization exists. It is even very great. But it stems from social realities and not from a conflict within the Warsaw political establishment. The whole question is how we can prevent that destabilization.

From our viewpoint, the only way is to speed up change. Our critics think that it is enough to present an artificial unity within the political class. But the conflict is as old as that political class.

We think that the grass roots must be given something. If we cannot offer anything from the economic viewpoint, we must at least satisfy the population in the moral sphere. If we do not, we will spark off a revolution.

[Rousselin] If your movement came to power, would it adopt the stringency of the existing austerity policy or would it give way to economic populism?

[Kaczynski] General de Gaulle solved the Algerian problem although he was not in favor of a French withdrawal from Algeria. Similarly, describing Walesa's policy as populist does not mean that he will not efficiently implement the reform. Walesa knows that to ride this populist horse, he must first mount it.... And before he can do that, he must catch it....

Our program must be seen as an attempt to help Poland to implement an extremely difficult reform. Our viewpoint is not solely that of the intellectual elite who, despite their merits, only have a restricted view of things.

[Rousselin] To what extent is the current conflict a conflict between the right and left of Solidarity?

[Kaczynski] The majority of our opponents belong to groups which are linked to the left and whose current positions are linked to left-wing traditions. This is particularly true of their attitude toward the communist system which they protect to some extent. They protect it because they are convinced that the liquidation of the communist system will strengthen the right. If we had been united against communism, there would be no division between us....

Our opponents also have a great fear of the nationalists. I can tell you that the Center Accord is antinationalist, but that we are not obsessed with that issue. Our opponents are also afraid of what is called "black power" in Poland—the power of the church. Of course, they do not say that openly. We do not share that fear and the fact that religious fervor is more intense in Poland than in France suits us perfectly.

In this respect it is a conflict between right and left, but there are also right-wingers who are serving the left.

[Rousselin] You and your friends are accused of anti-Semitism. What is your reply?

[Kaczynski] That is very convenient for our opponents, because it damages us in the West's eyes.

I think that the left knows that it has a lot to lose. It would like to make people believe that it is faced with a nationalist, obscurantist and anti-Semitic right. One of our priorities is to prevent such a situation. We want to create an alternative to the left which is not nationalist but European.

[Rousselin] Is Walesa authoritarian?

[Kaczynski] We are accused of trying to create a presidential system. We have often referred to the French model. As far as I know, France is a democratic country and the system works well. At all events, it will be up to the parliament elected by universal suffrage to decide that.

[Rousselin] It seems that we are witnessing a break in the alliance between intellectuals and workers which was Solidarity's characteristic....

[Kaczynski] That is rather sad because it ends a wonderful period. That is the price to be paid for democracy, however.

Solidarity Government Officials Assessed

PM0208095690 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 16 Jun 90 p 6

[Marek Henzler article: "Roundtable or Springboard: Who Did the High Jump?"]

[Text] Last fall Lech Walesa's Citizens Committee published a book containing photographs, biographical details, and statements by 247 people who had sat at the roundtable as negotiators or experts on behalf of what was then called the "opposition and Solidarity side." Today its current issue should be given the title, "Who Became a VIP," instead of the original, "Who's Who."

Understandably, Solidarity selected its best known union activists and its long-established advisers and intellectual supporters to take part in the roundtable debate. After the roundtable agreements were reached, most of them took paths that led them ever closer to the power-wielding elite. To substantiate this claim, I will cite the examples of subsequent careers made by some figures described in the book in question—a book which by now has become an indispensable source of information about the new leadership personnel.

As I said earlier, the Citizens Committee appointed 247 persons as its representatives in talks with the government coalition side. As early as two months after the conclusion of the debates in the Governor's Palace, 28 of those persons became parliamentary deputies and 35 of them senators as a result of the June elections. One out of every four members of the Citizens Parliamentary Club comes from the original roundtable group. It would take too much space to list them all here; let us confine ourselves to pointing out that the entire top echelon of the present Senate took part in the roundtable conference: Andrzej Stelmachowski, Andrzej Wielowieyski, Zofia Kuratowska, and Jozef Slisz.

The agreements reached at the roundtable led to a renewed registration of both urban and rural Solidarity structures, as well as creative arts groups connected with the opposition—such as writers, journalists, or artists unions—which enabled their leaders to participate again legally and openly in public life. This group included Lech Walesa, Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Lech Kaczynski, A. Pietrzyk, Stefan Bratkowski, Jan Jozef Szczepanski, G. Janowski, and many others.

Apart from the prime minister himself, there are also seven ministers hailing from the "roundtable team" in Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government. These are Jacek Ambroziak, Aleksander Balazs, Aleksander Hall, Jacek Kuron, Aleksander Paszynski, Henryk Samsonowicz, and Witold Trzeciakowski. The same team also produced a fair number of present secretaries and under secretaries of state: Stefan Amsterdamski (industrial applications sector); Jerzy Ciemniewski (Council of Ministers Office [URM]); Tadeusz Diem (education); Helena Goralska (social policy); Janusz Lukasz Grzelak (education); Alfred Andrzej Janowski (education); Adam Tadeusz Kowalewski (construction); Krzysztof Kozlowski (interior affairs—State Protection Office [UOP]); Wladyslaw Kulerski (education); A. Milczanowski (UOP); Janusz Onyszkiewicz (National Defense Ministry [MON]); Anna Radziwill (education); Jerzy Regulski (URM); Stefan Starczewski (culture); Joanna Starega-Piasek (social policy); and Adam Strzembosz (justice).

There was no shortage of other government posts, either. G. Boguta is adviser to Minister Izabella Cywinska, and J. Litynski is adviser to Minister Jacek Kuron. W. Liwak holds the office of acting voivoda in Tarnobrzeg; J. Stepien is general election commissioner, while Jaroslaw Szczepanski has been appointed deputy director of the Government Press Office. Starting from the prime minister and counting downward, you could list almost 30 names here.

More than 10 persons who served on the roundtable mass media subcommittee now hold major posts in mass media administration. Dariusz Fikus and Jacek Moskwa publish the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA; Adam Michnik and Helena Luczywo publish GAZETA WYBORCZA; and J. Dworak and Jacek Snopkiewicz hold prominent posts in Radiokomitet [Committee for Radio and Television]. Stefan Bratkowski is chief editor of GAZETA I NOWOCZESNOSC; Jaroslaw Kaczynski is chief editor of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC; M. Kulesza is chief editor of WSPOLNOTA; Maciej Szumowski is deputy chief editor of KRAKOWSKI CZAS daily; and Maciej Ilowiecki holds the post of chairman of Polish Journalists Association.

Other roundtable participants have moved on to such posts as: head of the Lodz Voivodship Citizens Committee (Marek Edelman); member of the State Tribunal (J. Olszewski); chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki); or, most recently, mayor of the Warsaw district of Ochota (E. Malecki). We might conclude this "roll call" with the news that P. Nowina-Konopka, who served with the roundtable technical group, has been appointed secretary of state in the president's office and... that Father Alojzy Orszulik, who was a roundtable debate observer on behalf of the Polish Episcopate, has been consecrated as bishop.

Of the 247 persons listed in the book, five have since died, while almost 50 are either retired professors or have only elementary or secondary education. Of course, this does not disqualify them from pursuing a trade union or parliamentary career, but it constitutes a serious obstacle to a civil service career. In any case, of all the roundtable participants on the Solidarity and opposition side, more than 100 are now to be found occupying Sejm, senatorial, government, and other important posts.

Clearly, our group of 247 people is not enough to set up the whole new ruling team. It is necessary to recruit others, too. Here Citizens Committees and regional Solidarity boards have the most to say. They are the main influence on personnel policy in voivodship structures today, and after the latest local self-government elections their role has been reinforced even further. Local management posts are entrusted to the new generation of "our boys"—that is, people who became noted for their active opposition to the previous teams that hailed from the ranks of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and its allies. "Our Boys" are Solidarity activists, prominent figures from Catholic Intelligentsia Clubs [KIK] and various chaplaincy centers, and also activists of the formerly illegal and now reestablished new political parties. The latter were often victims of repressions—a fact which is regularly highlighted in their officially released biographical details.

It is still evident that the current personnel policy is shrouded in "official secrecy." To quote an example, prior to the local government elections I was unable to find any information in local papers as to which candidates would be proposed to the post of mayor or sheriff by the local Citizens Committees or regional Solidarity boards after the hoped-for victory in the elections. One notable exception was the list of 19 (!) candidates to the office of mayor of the City of Krakow, issued by the Citizens Committee and published by the local papers.

A similar situation occurred regarding changes in the posts of heads of regional education authorities, public prosecutors, presidents of courts of justice, voivodas, local heads of the Citizens Militia [MO] and Security Service [SB], and so on. Heads have rolled, but very few people know why. Do they roll because of their owners' inefficiency? Excessive zeal in serving the former authorities? Failure to pass the new vetting test? Transfer from active service to retirement? Or simply because their owners do not wish to serve the new team?

The changes often take place in an atmosphere of retaliation, according to the slogan "Fire the Reds before they get a chance to fire you." This sometimes creates the impression that judgment and punishment are being given outside the legal procedure, in retaliation for some real wrongs suffered in the past at the hands of former bosses by their newly appointed successors. Thus, practice is often at variance with the new principles of personnel policy announced from the "top echelons," and this leads to a situation which has been dubbed the "berufsverboten" [vocational prohibition] syndrome. This affects not only former employees of the party apparatus but also those who worked for those institutions of the ancien regime which are now being abolished or reorganized, such as the censor's office, the public prosecutor's office, the SB, the judiciary, press editorial offices, cooperative organizations, and so on. We hear with increasing frequency that people are again being asked to produce letters of recommendation or positive references from local parliamentary deputies and senators' offices, Citizens Committees, or regional Solidarity boards.

Many former managers and administrators who hailed from PZPR ranks were highly incompetent, and the upward progress of their careers was often determined by factors which we might call "separate from intrinsic merit." It is understandable that the new, currently dominant political forces do not want any cooperation with such people—which also means that the latter have also lost their political ability to run the affairs of their voivodship, city, office, or enterprise. As a result, it is necessary to carry out personnel changes which will lead to an overall "balanced political structure." But we should take care that this does not create opportunities to force genuinely competent individuals out, because they would be difficult to replace and their loss would be a loss for us all. Dr. Jadwiga Staniszkis, who has devoted many years to the study of the power sociology, recently told the readers of DZIENNIK BALTYCKI that the new elite closed its ranks too soon and "has been overstressing the claim that they are the 'determiners' of history. Many experts, also from my own generation, feel that their abilities are not acknowledged and made use of, while at the same time there are people in the government who are overburdened with responsibility and all too often hold positions which exceed their competence. As a result, according to traditional mechanisms of 'torpedoing' the opposition, they select as their collaborators persons who are even less qualified than themselves (...) This method of self-aggrandisement can indeed have its roots in old complexes and long-established sense of having been sidelined. The communists used to say exactly the same. They too resorted to the arguments of suffering and initiation. In both these cases we are dealing with a division between a new vanguard and the remainder of the populace."

These words were spoken by an intellectual associated with TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, a paper which has clearly become "antigovernment." Even if these claims about the government turned out to be justified, it would be just as warranted to address them also to the circles whose opinions are formed precisely by TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. It is not for nothing that the most popular question these days is: "Has Walesa recalled you, too, then?"

Industry Minister Syryjczyk on Privatization

PM0108150290 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 11 Jul 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Industry Minister Tadeusz Syryjczyk by Marek Kluczek; place and date not given]

[Text] [Kluczek] How would you assess the progress to date of the process of privatizing the economy?

[Syryjczyk] I think that your question is premature, because this process has not even begun on any significant scale. Privatization of the economy will progress along several channels. The first—to which we attach great importance from the viewpoint of legislation—is privatization of large enterprises in a way which allows the maximum number of citizens to have a share in their ownership.

The second channel of the privatization process is so-called small-scale privatization. This will not be as significant in industry as in the trade sector, but here also we are at present making a preliminary selection of enterprises which should be initially leased out to employees or groups of employees and later transferred on an ownership basis to joint companies or workers cooperatives. This will apply to companies which have relatively small capital assets at their disposal.

[Kluczek] What about the big enterprises?

[Syryjczyk] The biggest problem will be posed by those large-scale enterprises which do not lend themselves to instant privatization and are at present run according to a system which does not stand the test of efficient management. The scale of the current recession in our economy can also be traced to the fact that stabilization program has altered the macroeconomic environment while leaving individual economic entities operating in the same system that they followed during the planned economy era. Consequently an enterprise run on self-management principles will not prove viable if it sets itself the following priorities: 1—survival at all costs; 2—provision of employment; 3—provision of remuneration.

[Kluczek] The budget act allocated 1.5 trillion zloty to the Department of Industry, to be used on restructuring. Not a single zloty of this sum has been spent on restructuring to date. Why?

[Syryjczyk] It should be clearly stated that this sum of Z1.5 trillion can only help us hold back recession where it is at its most dangerous, but it cannot possibly accomplish the task of wholesale restructuring. Why have we not used any of it yet? Well, over the period of five months we found that, as I mentioned earlier, the process of change in enterprises is progressing exceedingly slowly—and we have no intention of using this money to subsidize inefficient enterprises or to make good their shortfalls.

It must be said that we certainly have not yet reached the critical point. The recent sounding of the alarm was, in my opinion, definitely inspired by emotional considerations, not to say political ones. Last May certain branches of our industry recorded increased production figures compared to April results. At the same time we have noted a certain stratification between enterprises belonging to the same branch of industry: Some went deeper into recession while others could boast marked growth. And this, after all, was what we are after. On the other hand, our restructuring funds will not be used indiscriminately in cases where no well-justified need arises, or when they would only serve to temporarily buoy up hopeless cases.

[Kluczek] For the time being, only small crafts and services enterprises have been declaring bankruptcy, while such large entities as steel works, collieries, or the Small Capacity Automobile Factory [FSM] are doing perfectly fine, against all expectations...

[Syryjczyk] Contrary to appearances, FSM is a plant which at the moment brings us—that is, the state—profits in the order of billions of zlotys. The recent partial exemption from the obligation to pay dividends granted to the plant was justified by the fact that FSM has embarked on large-scale capital investment projects. As much as 80 percent of the costs of these projects are met by Western credits, and our own banks are too weak to be able to finance the remaining 20 percent. As a result, we had to channel a proportion of the enterprise's profits into its development fund, which is, in any case, a statutorily envisaged move and which automatically results in raising the level of the enterprise's founding fund. This means that future dividend payments will rise correspondingly. The preparations for the manufacture of the "X" model car—the first batch of which is already scheduled to leave the plant in a year's time—is a vital operation. How long could we go on making the Fiat 126p?

For the time being, the steel sector continues to be profitable, though we expect that recession will creep over from consumer industries to the steel sector, too, as companies give up low-quality or excessively costly steel.

On the other hand, curing the mining sector of its ills is certain to be a long-lasting project. In France the final stage of such a scheme took four years...

[Kluczek] It looks as if private entrepreneurs are the ones who are the hardest hit by the process of restructuring the economy. How would you explain this?

[Syryjczyk] In industry, the private sector comprises some 4-5 percent of the whole. This is a very small proportion. We have virtually no private factories, and the largest existing enterprises of this kind are joint venture companies based partly or entirely on foreign capital. The average private company is made up of one owner and one employee. Until now, such small enterprises constituted a free economy enclave within the central command economy system. The owners of these small companies operated in uncertain circumstances, but at the same time their economic situation was quite good. Paradoxically, this was partly the result of the

uncertainty I have just mentioned: The small manufacturers were reluctant to invest their profits heavily to develop their companies and instead allocated a large proportion of them to consumption. Thus, their living standards placed them far above the level shared by the rest of the public—in fact, far higher than would have been justified from a strictly economic viewpoint.

Today, as we are setting up standardized ground rules, and as the economic environment becomes increasingly strict for all of us, the groups I have just discussed are expressing their criticism of the situation as they experience it, too. Small companies have begun to feel the tangible effects of the demand barrier and of domestic and foreign competition. The present market game will be won by those with more initiative and enterprise. In this way a new middle class will begin to develop: a middle class which is, in my opinion, an extremely important stabilizing factor for the economy and for democracy—and which, consequently, constitutes an indispensable element for Poland's future development.

Sejm Reviews Tax Law, Supreme Control Chamber

AU0108152790 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

[Jerzy Pilczynski report: "Before the Sejm Recess"]

[Excerpts] Saturday, 28 July, was the last day of the Sejm's 37th sitting. The Sejm concentrated on some matters that were still outstanding, before it adjourned for its summer recess. The Sejm Presidium announced that it would not be calling any Sejm sittings in August. Should the need arise, however, it had the power to do so, because the Polish Sejm works on a parliamentary and not on a session system.

On Saturday, the Sejm passed a law that taxes increases on earnings in 1990. It also considered the Senate's amendments to the standardization of compulsory insurance provision, its amendments to the bill amending the civil code, and its suggestions to the bill on political parties. The bill on the ratification of a United Nations Convention on Child Rights received its first reading. The order of the day was completed by a series of statements made by government ministers and deputies.

The sensation of the day was the letter from President Jaruzelski which was read out by Sejm Marshal Mikolaj Kozakiewicz. [passage omitted]

It is worth noting that outside the chamber there was much talk on the draft bill to amend the Constitution that had been submitted by a group of Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] deputies. The amending draft proposes nationwide elections for the presidency. [passage omitted]

Apart from business that was included on the agenda, the items that were omitted proved just as important. Saturday's Sejm sitting began with a series of meetings of all the parliamentary clubs and the consensus was that, for the time being, there should be no change of chairman at the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK]. Tadeusz Hulapowski should stay on until the alcohol-imports affair was clarified.

Toward the end of the parliamentary debate, the NIK chairman made a statement in answer to a question he had been asked by the prime minister some time ago—namely, whether anybody in government was implicated, or was materially interested in the alcohol affair. The NIK chairman told the house that according to available information, there was no evidence to suggest that any member of government was personally implicated. NIK had no proof that any deputy or senator was involved. Investigations were continuing and the results would be made available to a Sejm special commission that was being set up to thoroughly investigate the background of the whole affair. NIK would keep the Sejm informed of developments. [passage omitted]

The Sejm rejected most of the amendments made by the Senate to the bill amending the civil code and only accepted the ones that were merely procedural. The same happened with the Senate's amendments to the standardization provisions regarding compulsory insurance. The most important of the suggestions that were accepted concerned the need to standardize principles of civil liability applicable to the carrying on of agricultural business, with the provisions regarding obligatory insurance for any liability while driving a vehicle on the highway.

Most of the Senate's amendments concerned the bill on parliamentary parties. Many deputies agreed that the present text, a new draft of the bill, is a much improved version. The discussion concentrated on one thing—namely, whether political parties could be financed from foreign sources. While some deputies from the OKP were strongly in favor of retaining such a provision, others argued against it. Finally, all the Senate amendments to the bill were accepted, with the notable exception of Article Six, the possibility of foreign finance for political parties.

According to this parliamentary parties bill, it will be relatively easy to form a political party. A political party will obtain legal status from the moment it is registered with the Voivodship Court in Warsaw. It will only required 15 people to register a political party. If the aims of the party are to change the constitutional order or if the party does not reject the use of force in public life, the minister of justice can apply to the Constitutional Tribunal to have such a party proscribed. [passage omitted]

On Saturday evening, the deputies listened to a report on the findings of a special commission investigating police action against protesting farmers and some deputies in Mlawa and in the Ministry of Agriculture offices in Warsaw. Deputy Janusz Szymanski informed the house that the commission would be in a position to present a full report of its investigations in the very near future.

Jerzy Ciemniewski, undersecretary of state at the Office of the Council of Ministers, rejected accusations made

by deputy Stefan Niesiolowski [OKP] against the chairman of the Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW] Liquidation Committee. Ciemniewski explained that, contrary to what Niesiolowski had said, Jerzy Drygalski had disposed of his shares in the "Edytor" partnership long before he became head of the RSW Liquidation Commission. [passage omitted]

The Sejm made some changes in the composition of its commissions and set up a special commission to investigate the alcohol affair. The house heard several speeches by deputies before terminating its proceedings.

Poll: Mazowiecki Performance Rated 'Best'

LD0108192290 Warsaw PAP in English 1744 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 1—The performance of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki is still rated best (76.4 percent over 81.4 percent a month earlier), according to a poll conducted by the CBOS [Social Opinion Research Centre] between July 12-15.

Lech Walesa's performance was assessed as positive and well serving society by 61.7 percent of the polled (62 percent in June). Approval for President Wojciech Jaruzelski fell from 44.2 percent in June to 39.3 percent in mid July, as was the case with Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz (45.3 percent over 52.5 percent a month earlier) and Alfred Miodowicz (24 percent over 27.1 percent in June).

The government's rating also fell, from 60.6 percent in June to 55.9 percent currently.

Rzeszow Radio, TV Center Begins Operations

LD0108202790 Warsaw PAP in English 1929 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Rzeszow, Aug 1—The Rzeszow Independent Polish Radio and TV Centre started operating today. It is made up of a regional radio station station combined with the hitherto Krakow TV branch.

The TV-SAT Resovia will be received in south-eastern Poland. Starting from September 1990, it will relay satellite broadcasts in the third TV channel.

The Rzeszow Centre establishes cooperation with the Europa-2 French radiostation and the Brutel Belgian TV station. It is planned that the Belgian TV station would set up a joint venture with a radio and TV foundation, to be established soon here.

Economic Aspects of German Unification Discussed

LD0108203290 Warsaw PAP in English 1814 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 1—Representatives of the Polish and West German Governments ended a meeting in Bonn yesterday, during which they discussed the framework and terms of cooperation between Poland and a united Germany, both in the context of to-date ties between Poland and the FRG and GDR as well as the future membership of the GDR in the Common Market. EC representatives also attended the meeting.

"We expected the partners to take a stand on the Polish Government's memorandum to the West German Government from mid-June on the effect of Germany's unification," PAP learned from Wieslaw Jasinski, a member of the Polish delegation.

"We recalled our most important postulates. First German unification cannot take place at the cost of Polish interests stemming from the to-date level of cooperation and treaty and co-production ties, particularly with the GDR.

"Second, the border on the Odra-Nysa should unite and not divide the partners.

"Third, one should recognize the succession of the to-date regulations between Poland and the GDR. We have over 100 government agreements with this state as well as numerous border and local agreements," Jasinski said.

"During the talks in Bonn we noted that Poland's exports to the GDR could suffer in the wake of German unification. On the other hand we see a chance of new opportunities surfacing for the sale of our construction services, steel, metallurgic products and foodstuffs," the foreign trade official added.

"We welcomed the concordance of our views and those of our interlocutors as goes for the principles of future cooperation. We did not however receive a binding reply to our concrete proposals. This will resumably be possible following consultations between representatives of the FRG, the GDR and the EC," Jasinski continued.

"We attach special importance to the assumption that as long as the GDR is not covered by all EC regulations, our exports to that country should take place on to-date terms. This principle also stems from the principle of succession of agreements. We want to see the unificaiton of Germany as a chance for the revival of mutual cooperation with both German states. The matter of the results of GDR's membership in the EC for Poland is likewise. One should expect that the EC—which stresses through its representatives a political will to economically back Poland—will share our point of view in this respect," said Jasinski.

"The course and results of the talks in Bonn should be viewed in the context of the visit of Vice Premier Leszek Balcerowicz to the FRG, to take place this autumn. By that time Polish [Poland] and East German [the GDR] will have held talks and the second round of talks with the West German government representatives will have been completed," Wieslaw Jasinski concluded.

Lithuanian-Polish Border To Close 2 Aug

LD0108203190 Warsaw PAP in English 1855 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Vilnius, Aug. 1 (ELTA)—The Lithuanian-Polish border crossing at Ogrodniki will be closed to citizens with Soviet identity cards as of 10 a.m. on August 2.

The Soviet Council of Ministers took such a decision as part of an action aimed at fighting profiteering.

Statement Issued on 'Intimidation' at Greek Border

LD0108203490 Warsaw PAP in English 1820 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 1—Greek Charge d'Affaires Ms. Pannayota Mavromichali received a note at the Polish Foreign Ministry in which the Polish side pointed to the phenomenon of the unsubstantiated turning back of Polish citizens by Greek border authorities, recurring for many months.

As a result, many Polish tourists were exposed to sustaining moral and material losses despite satisfying formal conditions entitling them to enter that country. The note pointed out that the checking of Poles by Greek border officials is often accompanied by the atmosphere of intimidation and even the cases of using force.

The note stressed that negative facts of this kind unfavourably affect cooperation between both states that develops successfully in many areas.

The Polish Foreign Ministry expects competent Greek authorities to take proper decisions to ensure treatment of Polish travellers on its territory in a lawful manner.

Iliescu Communique Calls for End to Tensions

AU0108183290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 90

["Text" of communique issued by the Presidential Press Bureau on behalf of President Ion Iliescu in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] Romania is undergoing a vast process of democratic change and profound renewal on all levels. After the elections last May, we proceeded to organize the structures of the state of law and democratic political system. This process was not, and is not, devoid of difficulties and hardships. In the past seven months, all of us witnessed state tension and even conflicts capable of rendering the democratic development of our society more difficult, such as the events in Bucharest, Tirgu Mures, and other towns, which culminated in the events of 13-15 June. All this nurtured a certain climate of suspicion and distrust, which affects us all and diminishes our ability to solve the country's overall problems.

Continuing the series of consultations initiated after his inauguration, the president deems it necessary to act as a conciliating factor between the various choices and interests of all the country's citizens. The president calls on the government, the General Prosecutor's Office, and the inquiry commission set up by the parliament to investigate the 13-15 June events and to work out proposals for finding solutions that eliminate the elements of tension and confrontation and further calm the political climate in the country.

In order to ensure the stability of our social life, all political forces should show a spirit of responsibility for the country's major interests, should overcome narrow group interests, and should act in a spirit of solidarity in order to solve the difficult problems facing our society.

Inquiry Commission on Riots Interviews Witnesses

AU0108183190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1733 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/8/1990—On July 31, 1990 a new meeting in plenum took place of the commission inquiring the causes and conditions having determined and favoured the June 13-15 events, when the following persons were heard: Mr.Ioan Neamtiu (the 16-21 December Association), Mr. Alexandru Nancu (the 21 December Association), Mr. Vlad Moisescu (the Medicine Students' Association), Mr. Eugen Leahu (the Polytechnic Institute Students' League), Mr. Dan Preiss (the Construction Students' Trade Union), Mr. Gabriel Andreescu (Group for Social Dialogue), Mr. Nicolae Iuga (the Romanian Television Workers' Trade Union), Mr. Emanoil Valeriu (director-general of the Romanian Television), reads a communique the commission sent to ROMPRES.

The next meeting in plenum of the inquiry commission will take place on August 2, 1990, with the hearing of Colonel General Vasile Ionel, first deputy minister of national defence, chief of staff; Major General Dumitru Polivanov, commander of the First Army and commander of the Bucharest Garrison; General Paul Romulus, commander of the Bucharest garrison's command; Major General Mihai Stan, first deputy director of the Romanian Information Service; Colonel Radu Cantuniari, commander of the paratroopers regiment at Boteni; and Professor Nicolae Dan Cristescu, doctor in science, rector of Bucharest University, the communique specifies.

Society Should 'Purge Itself of Communism'

AU0108190990 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 30 Jun 90 p 2

[Constanta Munteanu article: "Defying Reason"]

[Text] One often hears these days about "Ceausescu's revenge", which, of course, is nothing else but an attempt to simplify things. The "Ceausescu phenomenon" has not vanished because the communist machinery is still at work and Romanian society has not set out to purge itself of communism.

The crowbar-brandishing neocommunists reminded us that Marxism and Leninism turn the working man into a paroxysmal murderer, reducing human life to a mere biological level. It promotes sadomasochism as a solution to day-to-day problems and as the basis for social and political behavior.

Witnessing times when the authority of reason and the prestige of intellect are, once again, being defied, and when the magical, terrorizing type of authority is preferred, we should understand that we must promote the process of exploiting authoritarian ethics. These ethics attempt to deter reasonable and critical thinking and to develop the "virtue" of meekness, which includes an inferiority complex and fear.

Accusing those who rally against or make anticommunist or antigovernment statements of being "Iron-Guardists" is meant to conceal the totalitarian fascist-communist skeleton prevailing in Romania. Political parties without ideals or a doctrinaire basis, the programmatic lack of ideals and the proclamation of all political doctrines as useless represent a Nietzsche-type amoralism and nihilism typical both of right-wing and of left-wing extremism. The state power continues to feature that old disguised paganism: atheism that lies beyond the pompous, sacred ceremonies, the idolatrous, totalitarian-sectarian frenzy of certain electoral rallies, hysterical intolerance regarding all values of Christianity and democracy, the rebirth of adulation by means of "magic" techniques, the ecstatic violence, the taste for blood and for human sacrifice.

The allergic repulsion to freedom and the drive to be led and protected, the refusal of free information and the quest for an inquisitive censorship, the incapacity to

decide for oneself, to freely express oneself, the obstruction of all spontaneity, the leaning toward being dependent, the incentives to pogroms and the obsession with turning back to the protective bosom of dictatorship—all these are symptoms of the same totalitarian disease that is still poisoning our nation.

Let us not ask where the Romanian people and its magnificent Dacian-Roman structural unity have gone, for these people have been turned into slaves and brutes, brought into a state of "automated conformity." Yet, they have not been wholly transformed into golems. The intellectuals have kept the fire of the spirit burning, and now they must go on shedding this light, despite all obscurantism and devilish glitter. Being well aware of the fact that there can be no alternative to democracy, not even the so-called "democratic despotism," the democratic elements in this county will continue their fight with even more tenacity. Romanian youth have now been endowed with the gift of life—freedom—and will therefore defeat the bloodstained Moloch of authoritarian routine.

Calls for Measures To Attract Foreign Capital

AU0108173290 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 30 June 90 p 1, 4

[Doru Lionachescu article: "Relying on Youth"]

[Text] The comeback of Romania as a distinct voice into the choir of European nations appears to be an immediate prospect. On Thursday, 28 June, Mr. Petre Roman, prime minister designate of the first democratic government after half a century of communist dictatorship, submitted the government program to parliament. The program included a list of technocrats he chose to deal with the formidable difficulties he faces in the initial stage of economic and social management.

This government program expresses the "fundamental ideas of the parliamentary majority" and affirms the principle of "acknowledging and promoting real values and creativity." It is a well-grounded and economically sound program-declaration, and a pleasant surprise and intellectual delight to the man in the street, accustomed to the ineptitude of the speeches during the communist era. On the whole the program is, of course, a center-leftist one, although—and this is gratifying—it does not lack certain elements of liberal and neoliberal socioeconomic thought. The government declaration is obviously based on a profound analysis of current Romanian reality. At the same time it is a synthesis of a number of theories and trends, extracting basic elements to suit the political orientation of the parliamentary majority and to be applied, without any foreseeable risks, to the current situation in Romania.

The program submitted by the prime minister revolves around the idea already agreed upon by the whole nation last December: the introduction of the mechanisms of a free market economy. It is quite comforting to see that the government has managed to come up with a coherent, pertinent, and believable strategy to be submitted to parliament. Election-campaign-style promises have been left aside to a great extent, and the only right way out of economic catastrophe has been chosen: executive firmness.

There are two aspects of the program-declaration that we found highly significant from the very beginning. The first was the reliance on the enthusiasm and energy of youth, both on the government team—probably the youngest one in the whole of Europe—and on the country's youth in general, fully participating in the rebuilding of the economy, starting at the grass-roots level—the enterprises. The other remarkable aspect is the emphasis placed on the human factor as a decisive element in the struggle to bring Romania into the orbit of economic prosperity.

The situation in our country—that of the transition from a "hyper-centralized, collectivist" economy, as the prime minister put it, to a market economy—has no precedent in history. Thus, not having any previous experience to rely upon, we appreciate the government team's efforts to outline an economic strategy. As most creations of the human intellect, the submitted strategy does not offer full answers to all questions; it leaves some aspects in the dark and features some superficial solutions. One could ask, for instance, whether leaving the form of property in economic units unchanged or granting "might and power" to administrative councils—which play a decisive decisionmaking role yet often lacking in any kind of managerial ability—would not perhaps bring about a chain reaction of bankruptcies and finally a general economic collapse. It is the equivalent of lending one's car to someone who does not even have a driver's license. Similarly, the program-declaration ignores the essential question of specialization abroad, not only of executives, but also of workers and technicians. On the other hand, the government's strong reliance on the inflow of foreign capital appeared quite exaggerated to us, especially now that Romania' image in the world is unfortunately not attractive enough to Western investors. In which way could we offer a correct image of ourselves abroad? We cannot be satisfied with just the hope—as stressed in the declaration—that some day European countries will eventually be convinced, on their own, that our current government is truly interested in dialogue and democracy. If foreign capital—which is highly sensitive to political fluctuations—fails to flow in, the whole economic program of the government risks becoming a large-scale fiasco.

The program-declaration has no clear plan for instilling a spirit of competition in the state economic sector, justifying the elimination of material balance-sheets under today's socioeconomic circumstances, taking concrete steps to attract the population's private capital into investment to fight inflation, projecting how effective the antimonopoly policy be, or converting the leu into—at least partially—a convertible currency. Of course, the government program will be widely discussed during the following days, and thus we are sure most of the issues

above will be clarified. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that the economic strategy proposed by the newly appointed government is a realistic one. Now we need its implementation without any further delay.

UK To Purchase Romanian-Made BAC Planes

AU0108201990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] At a news conference organized in London by the (?Associated) Airspace Company, it was announced that a contract worth one billion dollars was signed with the Bucharest Airplanes Company, in which the British firm will buy 50 BAC-111 airplanes powered by [word indistinct] engines. The contract will be financed by British and international sources. This is confirmation of the quality and business potential offered by democratic Romania.

According to Romanian Embassy sources in London, cited by the ROMPRES agency, the participants in the conference disapproved of the British authorities' decision not to issue the necessary visas for the Romanian delegation scheduled to participate in the launch of this project.

Daily Alleges U.S. Media Anti-Romania Campaign

AU0108183390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1743 GMT 1 Aug 90

["The Spectre of Xenophobia"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/8/1990—We the Romanians are used to consider the United States a democratic country. That is why I do not understand how can the stand taken by the American officials on the latest developments in Romania be assessed: Is it the outcome of lack of information, of false information disseminated by media hostile to Romania or of ill faith? Wonders the Romanian politologist Titus Mezaros in a letter to Darie Novaceanu, editor in chief of the biggest national independent daily "ADEVARUL" who prints it, requesting details in connection with questions to which he cannot find an answer.

More specifically, the author of the letter refers to the attitude of the American officials vis-a-vis the mid-June events. The U.S. ambassador to Bucharest, Alan Green stated on 18 June when he returned from Washington on the instructions of his president and the secretary of state that "they had asked him to convey to the Romanian Government the very serious concern of the United States about the violence that occurred in Bucharest on June 14 and 15 and the resulting damage on Romania's progress towards democracy."

"We all know that the most serious acts of violence occurred on 13 June when the police wanted to clear a central boulevard abusively blocked by a number of citizens for almost two months. Armed gangs of hooligans, fighting the police, attacked, set on fire and destroyed—with a skillfulness that excludes spontaneous rage and proves well organized and controlled actions—the General Police Department, the Ministry of the Interior, the Romanian Television, other institutions and stores in the capital city, as well as 65 private and official cars." "The events of 14 and 15 June were only the consequence, equally regrettable, but only the consequence of the acts of vandalism of 13 June."

What should we, the Romanians, understand from Ambassador Alan Green's statement? That the President and the secretary of state condemn the violence occurred on 14 and 15 June but accept that of 13 June? The question is all the more natural as the ambassador asks Romania's Government "to publicly guarantee the safety of the people to exercise their legitimate right of freedom of expression and of democratic dissent." As no reference is made to the acts of violence and vandalism of 13 June should one understand that the President and the secretary of state consider them as part of the legitimate rights of the people to freedom of expression and democratic dissent?

The author of the letter wonders what the two of them mean when they say "people, since the 20 May elections in Romania are permanently underestimated. What would happen, the letter reads, if 5,000 Americans blocked the Fifth Avenue under the pretext of demonstrations? How long would they be let to obstruct the traffic in the centre of New York? Should the freedom of the many who have the right to use that avenue not be protected? It is known that the majority of Romania's population blamed the government for tolerating for too long—almost two months—the abusive obstruction of the centre of Bucharest. Moreover, how can one assess the anti-Romania campaign in the American newspapers? The assertion, for instance, that the Romanian Television, seriously damaged on 13 June, is a criminal institution? We have been witnessing the terrorization of the whole country by a small minority for weeks and is it we that are intolerant? Do we no longer understand what we see? Wonders the author of the letter showing that "the Romanian people resisted the xenophobia cultivated by the Ceausescu dictatorial regime. They nurtured a sincere sympathy for the American people despite the adversity of history. But now when they witness obvious mystification of the truth concerning them, a profound disappointment makes itself room in the people's mind vis-a-vis those countries which, after pushing us in the arms of communism, through a secret and unfair deal, now hamper the democratization of our country."

Don't you think that what Ceausescu did not manage to do—to cultivate xenophobia among the Romanians—could be done by the circles abroad which shamelessly slander the Romanians' efforts to take themselves out from the decay of a dictatorship and advance on the path of democracy? Wonders the author of the letter specifying that he awaits an answer.

Deputy Minister Ene Receives CSFR Envoy

AU0108182990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1729 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/8/1990—Constantin Ene, deputy minister of foreign affairs, received Mr. Josef Zima, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic to Bucharest.

Approach was made of the stage and perspectives of the Romanian- Czechoslovak relations, emphasis being placed on the necessity and possibilities to expand and diversify them in the new conditions caused by the internal changes in the two countries as well as by the evolutive situation in Europe and the world over.

On the occasion reference was made to the significance of establishing diplomatic relations between Romania and Czechoslovakia on August 1, 1920, an important moment in the history of the relations between the two countries, between the Romanian, Czech and Slovak peoples.

Foreign Secretary Summons Iraqi, Kuwaiti Envoys

LD0208080790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0718 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—TANJUG has learned that immediately upon receiving the news about Iraqi armed actions on Kuwaiti territory, Yugoslav Federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar summoned the ambassadors of Iraq and Kuwait in Belgrade.

On behalf of Yugoslavia, current chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, Budimir Loncar has convened a meeting with the ambassadors of all nonaligned countries accredited in Belgrade.

The federal secretary is reported to be in telephone contact with his counterparts in the nonaligned countries from the Near and Middle East region.

Yugoslavia's official statement on the incursion of Iraqi troops into Kuwaiti territory is expected shortly.

Yugoslavs in Kuwait 'Unharmed'

LD0208072390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0709 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—According to an announcement just received by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs from the SFRY Embassy in Kuwait, there is fighting in the city. All Yugoslav citizens are alive and unharmed.

Markovic Addresses Venice Meeting, Views Future

LD0108164490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 1 Aug 90

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Venice, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—This meeting in Venice gives us the opportunity to establish a symbolic connection between our interwoven European history and our common European future, which is close to all our hearts, stressed Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic in his address to the participants at the meeting of pentagonal cooperation member countries taking place in Venice today.

The Yugoslav prime minister briefly recalled the history of the initiative's existence in central Europe, pointing out that at the Budapest meeting in November of last year the foundations were laid for a new form of multilateral regional cooperation in this region based on the advantages of good-neighborliness, complementary and common features, and joint traditions and interests.

Ante Markovic stressed the importance of the addition of Czechoslovakia to the Budapest five, continuing his speech he said:

"It is our interest to contribute through this pentagonal initiative to the process of cooperation and confidence in Europe and to jointly participate in building a future united Europe on the CSCE platform.

We are witnesses to and active participants in historical changes on our continent. The era of confrontation, of ideological, bloc, and other divisions, is ending and is making way for visions of a new unity in our differences.

It is a fundamental need and the opportunity for all European states and nations for their relations to be founded on a new equilibrium, a new balance of interests instead of forces, on economic and cultural integration, compatibility of democratic systems, the extension of the scope of human rights and freedoms, protection of minorities, environmental protection, peace, prosperity, and solidarity.

The forms of European organization have not hitherto fully met these demands. Hence, in recent years there has emerged natural tendencies toward regional integration and association based on concrete forms, programs, and activities.

The essence of this integration lies in the creation of broad frameworks for cooperation between the continent's East and West, North and South. We are building a network of interdependent interests, ensuring their dimension of stability and mutual confidence, on the road to a common European economic, cultural, social, and legal region.

Yugoslavia sees its future within this region. All our needs as a country slowly but surely are progressing toward full and parliamentary democracy and a market economy, all our national interests, are closely tied up with the further development of the democratic integrational processes on European soil.

The political document we are adopting today expresses our countries' orientations and views of the political importance of the moment and includes the pentagonal role in the immediate democratic context of current European trends and aspirations to peace, democracy, stability, and development.

The program of our activities for the coming period reflects individual and common interests in its wealth of ideas, actions and concrete projects in a number of areas.

We must now concentrate on the realization of several major projects. This presupposes drawing up studies and preliminary projects and the search for adequate solutions for their financing from national sources to the funds of international financial institutions."

Ante Markovic expressed his conviction that "our determination to develop pentagonal regional cooperation represents a qualitative contribution to the CSCE process, which has played a historic role in the birth of the awareness of the unique opportunity for the realization of the values of European identity and has become the irreplaceable framework for the essential rapprochement and unification of European countries."

He concluded by expressing the belief that the joint message of good wishes and hopes which the Venice summit was sending to the CSCE on the occasion of its jubilee "also expresses our expectations that the forthcoming summit in Paris will, on the basis of the democratic breakthroughs so far, take resolute steps toward defining the effective long-term solutions for the new architecture and building of a new democratic system in Europe."

Meets Austrian, CSFR Leaders

LD0108223490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2038 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Venice, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic conferred in Venice this afternoon with Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitsky and with Prime Ministers Jozsef Antall of Hungary and Marian Calfa of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

The meetings took place following a conference of the prime ministers of five European countries, known as the Pentagonal Group for Regional cooperation, which comprises Austria, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Hungary, Italy and Yugoslavia.

Markovic and Vranitsky are reported to have discussed developments in Europe and bilateral cooperation, with an emphasis on environmental protection. The problems of putting nuclear energy to peaceful (?purposes) was mentioned and in this context, the problem of the use of the only Yugoslav nuclear power plant at Krsko. The two officials also discussed progress of the work on the final stage of a tunnel through the Karawanken (a mountain range between Yugoslavia and Austria). It was agreed in principle that the Yugoslav prime minister should visit Austria at the Austrian federal chancellor's invitation.

Markovic and his Czechoslovak colleague Marian Calfa discussed cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. The matter will be discussed in greater detail during Calfa's forthcoming visit to Yugoslavia, it has been informed.

The talk between Markovic and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall laid stress on economic cooperation, with the two prime ministers agreeing that good prospects exist for expanding and diversifying bilateral economic cooperation in many fields.

Austrian Nuclear 'Fear' Noted

LD0108174490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1612 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Krsko, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav power plant Krsko is continuing to cause major fear in the Austrian public, frightened by the effects of the Chernobyl disaster, Marillies Flemmings, Austrian minister of the environment, told a press conference in the small Yugoslav town Krsko on the border between the Republic of Slovenia and Croatia.

The Austrian minister reiterated a stand of Austria's public and political top requesting the earliest possible closing down of Krsko, Yugolavia's only nuclear power plant. She also asked that access be provided to all information on the plant's operation.

Slovenian Deputy Prime Minister Leo Seserko agreed this stand and added that there were no reasons for keeping secret the information about the plant's work.

The 664-management plant was built in 1981.

The Slovenian Government made public a plan envisaging Krsko's closing by 1995. The Slovenians should give their opinions on this matter at a referendum by the end of the year.

However, the plant's other owner, the Croatian Government, recently rejected the idea on closing down the plant as it cannot provide an alternative source of energy for 17 percent of this republic's production of electricity, which have so far been produced by Krsko. The Croatian Government maintains that the plant is operating safely.

Government Popularity Poll Shows 'Confidence'

AU0108153590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 90 pp 1,12

[M. Malesevic and M. Kos report: "The Government Is Trusted"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade— The current Yugoslav government enjoys great confidence from the people, and its moves promise that our country will soon overcome the crisis. The only thing that may affect it on its reformist course are interethnic and inter-republican clashes. The Federal Executive Council [FEC] led by Ante Markovic failed to convince only rare pessimists that his program is a guarantee for inflation, debts, and losses becoming a thing of the past.

These are only some results of the first public opinion poll carried out by a Yugoslav Government. The poll questioned 5,000 citizens throughout the country. As Federal Information Secretary Davor Marin informed journalists yesterday, other polls will follow because this is the best way to test the citizens' attitudes toward the measures of the federal government.

If elections were held now, 79 percent of the polled Yugoslavs would vote for the government. In Bosnia-Hercegovina there are more who would not want to change the present government, 93 percent, than anywhere else. In this republic there are also more optimists who believe that Yugoslavia will surmount its crisis by 1995 than in other republic. In Croatia, 83 percent would vote for the FEC; in Vojvodina and Macedonia, 89 percent; in Slovenia, 59 percent; in Serbia, 81 percent; and in Kosovo, 42 percent. Only five percent of all those polled would not want to vote for the government. There are more of those in Kosovo than anywhere else. [passage omitted]

The president of the FEC has an extremely favorable image in the public: 71 percent of citizens do not think that any negative features or characteristics can be ascribed to him; only one percent think that there is nothing positive that can be ascribed to him. Almost one half (49 percent) fully agree with Ante Markovic ideas, 36 percent only partially agree, 12 percent do not have a firm view, and only three percent do not agree with his views. The differences between the respondents in different republics and provinces are great though: 77 percent agree with Markovic's positions in Bosnia-Hercegovina, 70 percent in Macedonia, 64 percent in Montenegro, 16 percent in Slovenia, and 13 percent in Kosovo (54 percent agree partially). In Serbia proper, the ratio between those who fully and partially support the prime minister is 44 to 41. The answers in Croatia and Vojvodina differ only slightly from those of the whole sample. A considerable opposition exists only in Kosovo (15 percent). In Kosovo and in Slovenia, there is a large number of those who did not want to answer the question (19 and 23 percent, respectively).

Whatever view the citizens may have about Prime Minister Ante Markovic and the FEC, an impressive majority of them, 79 percent, voted in support of the government at the time this poll was conducted, 16 percent abstained, and five percent were against.

Public's Reaction to FEC's Measures and Policies

Answering a general question, "Do you think that the reforms that are being carried out and proposed by the FEC are the right solutions for the country to overcome its crisis?" as many as 66 percent, or two thirds of the respondents, said yes, seven percent said no, and 27 percent said they were not in a position to evaluate the reforms. The Macedonians believed in the correctness of the measures more than anybody else (81 percent). [passage omitted]

The FEC's idea to found its own political party was supported by 41 percent of those polled, 28 percent were against it, and 29 percent were undecided. This idea received the greatest approval in Bosnia-Hercegovina (65 percent for and 20 percent against); in Macedonia (53 percent for and 19 against); in Croatia (44 percent for and 21 percent against); and in Kosovo (41 percent for and 26 against). Other parts of the country were mainly against the idea. In Vojvodina, 34 percent were for and 35 against; in Montenegro, 21 percent were for and 42 percent against; in Serbia proper, 28 percent were for and 37 against; and in Slovenia, 23 percent were for and 32 percent against. [passage omitted]

Expectations Concerning Future Yugoslavia

Of those polled, 69 percent said that they agreed with the closure of the firms that have been incurring losses, 17 percent were against it, and 14 percent were undecided. The greatest disapproval came from the citizens of the least developed province and the most developed republic. In Slovenia, one third (33 percent) said they were against it, while in Kosovo there was slightly more disapproval (37 percent).

The citizens of this country envision a future Yugoslavia as a "federation similar to the one that exists at present" (24 percent), as "a confederation" (21 percent), as "a federation with fewer powers" (13 percent), as "a diminished" federation without some parts (12 percent), and as a country consisting of several independent states (seven percent). The differences in the views of the respondents on the future of Yugoslavia are considerable in different republics and provinces, and among different nationalities. For instance, more of those polled in Montenegro and Macedonia expect that the present federation will continue to function (44 and 43 percent, respectively) than do the respondents in other republics. The majority of those polled in Croatia expressed the view that Yugoslavia will be a confederation (35 percent) or a federation with diminished powers (16 percent). The respondents in Slovenia mainly see a future Yugoslavia as a confederation (44 percent). Those polled in Serbia mostly expressed the view that Yugoslavia will remain in the present form of federation (25 percent); 19 percent anticipated a secession of some parts, 14 percent envisaged a federation with reduced powers, and only seven percent that Yugoslavia will become a confederation. The dominant view among the respondents in Kosovo is that Yugoslavia will be a confederation (32 percent), that some parts of the country will secede (21 percent), and that it will consist of independent states (11 percent). The expectations of the respondents in Vojvodina are very diverse and are characterized by a large number of undecided opinions (27 percent). Nevertheless, most of them expect that the federation will not change (28 percent), which is considerably lower than in the case of Montenegro and Macedonia. [passage omitted]

The poll further shows that the percentage of those who declared themselves to be members of the League of Communists in the republics which had conducted democratic elections has considerably fallen (eight percent in Croatia, and three percent in Slovenia), and the same also happened in Kosovo (only six percent). Membership in the party has more or less remained at the 20 percent level in Serbia proper, Vojvodina, and Macedonia, and is considerably higher in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro (30 percent).

The Projection of One's Own Voting Behavior

Despite the differences in attitudes toward democratic elections that have (not) been held in some parts of the country, we asked the respondents in all the republics and provinces the following question: "If the elections were (again) held tomorrow, which political party would you vote for?" The results of the poll show that on average there is a high degree of indecisiveness (52 percent). In Kosovo and Croatia, undecided respondents respectively were 40 and 41 percent. On the other hand, there was a much higher degree of undecidedness in Montenegro, Macedonia, Serbia proper, and Vojvodina

(ranging between 60 and 64 percent). Slovenia and Bosnia-Hercegovina are somewhere near the average. The respondents from Bosnia-Hercegovina went mainly for the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina (22 percent). One can also notice a mild tendency toward some other political parties. In Montenegro, the respondents went for the League of Communists of Montenegro (25 percent). A certain tendency was also noticed toward the parties from Serbia. What is characteristic for Croatia is that the electorate is sharply divided between the Croatian Democratic Community (26 percent) and the League of Communists of Croatia (18 percent). There is also a tendency toward other parties. In Macedonia, the respondents went for the League of Communists of Macedonia (16 percent), the Social Democratic Party (five percent), the Socialist Alliance (four percent), and the All-Macedonian Action Movement (three percent). Slovenia is characterized by the respondents expressing diverse preferences: Demos received 17 percent; the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Reforms, seven percent; the ZSMS [Slovene Socialist Youth Federation] Liberal Party, six percent; the Green Alliance, three percent, and so forth. In Serbia proper the electorate concentrated on the League of Communists of Serbia (20 percent); the Democratic Party (three percent); and a few supported the Social Democratic Party, the People's Radical Party, and so on. Kosovo was characterized by the electorate overwhelmingly supporting the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (63 percent). The League of Communists of Kosovo received the support of only three percent of the respondents. Finally, Vojvodina is characterized by a lack of definite opinions. This is shown by their votes: the League of Communists of Vojvodina was favored by 21 percent, the Yugoslav-oriented parties by six percent, and the parties which represent farmers interests by two percent.

The Popularity of Politicians

We also publish the basic findings on the popularity of various politicians because it is obvious that the majority of them reflect certain political currents and represent political parties. In the middle of this year the most respected person in Yugoslavia was the president of the Federal Executive Council. He was mentioned by 25 percent of citizens. The next one on the top of the charts was S. Milosevic (16 percent); F. Tudjman (four percent); then J. Drnovsek, M. Kucan, B. Jovic, and I. Rugova (three percent each), V. Tupurkovski (two percent), and so on. The political views advocated by A. Markovic are the closest to the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina (42 percent voted for him), Croatia (36 percent as opposed to 16 percent of those who gave priority to F. Tudjman), Macedonia (36 percent against 24 percent in favor of Tupurkovski). The citizens of Vojvodina are divided over S. Milosevic (31 percent) and A. Markovic (28 percent), as are the citizens of Montenegro (A. Markovic 31 percent, S. Milosevic 30 percent). In Slovenia they are divided between A. Markovic, who was favored by eight percent, and Milan Kucan who was favored by 20 percent of the respondents. In Kosovo, Markovic received two percent, while Rugova received 31 percent. The percentage of undecided in all republics was high—it ranged between 20 percent (in Croatia) and 43 percent (in Slovenia).

About Interethnic Relations

A large number of Yugoslavian citizens regard the term "Yugoslav" as something that merely indicates citizenship, belonging to the SFRY, (40 percent). In Slovenia this figure was 51 percent; in Bosnia-Hercegovina, 43 percent; Montenegro, 42 percent; Serbia proper, 39 percent; Kosovo, 34 percent; Macedonia, 32 percent; and Vojvodina, 29 percent.

Those who assess interethnic relations in Yugoslavia as "bad" or "very bad" are in the majority (46 and 41 percent respectively). There is only a negligible number who assess relations positively (a total of nine percent, of which seven percent said they were "satisfactory" and two percent said they were "good"). Regarding those who thought that relations were "bad," the difference between the republics and provinces was negligible. The smallest number of those who thought that relations were "very bad" was in Croatia (23 percent), while the highest number was in Serbia (56 percent).

Foreign Policy Questions

The most popular foreign politician in Yugoslavia in the middle of 1990 was Gorbachev. As many as 36 percent of Yugoslavia's citizens said that they respect him. This shows that he is more popular than any other foreign statesman has ever been, although there are countries in which his popularity is even greater. Gorbachev is not equally popular in every part of the country: he enjoys the greatest prestige in Vojvodina (53 percent), Montenegro (51 percent), and Serbia without provinces (45 percent). Gorbachev is the least respected in Kosovo (11 percent), because he was mentioned by ethnic Albanians the least. The creator of the Soviet perestroyka is extremely respected by the Montenegrins (64 percent). U.S. President Bush is in second place with 13 percent. He enjoys greater respect among the Yugoslavs then previous U.S. presidents. This president is particularly respected by ethnic Albanians (41 percent), and least respected by Montenegrins (three percent).

A simple majority of our citizens think that our country is not doing enough to defend the rights of our minorities in other countries (42 percent). According to those polled, the greatest obstacle for Yugoslavia joining the EC are political divisions, disagreements, factionalism, and so on (39 percent), followed by the "inefficient economy" (26 percent), "disrespect for human rights" (10 percent), the "insufficiently developed democracy" (seven percent), and "unclear property relations" (six percent). Other reasons were mentioned only sporadically.

Federal Chamber Conclusions on Kosovo Situation

AU0208080990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Jul 90 p 13

["Text" of the conclusions adopted by the Federal Chamber concerning the situation in Kosovo at the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on 26 July]

[Text] 1. The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly states that the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is exceptionally complex and serious, and it thinks that any further deterioration of this situation could have far reaching negative consequences for the country as a whole.

2. The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly assesses that the Socialist Republic of Serbia adopted the law on the cessation of the work of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo with the aim of protecting the constitutional order and territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY.

3. The Federal Chamber calls on the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia to immediately take all necessary measures in line with its constitutional rights and obligations, and provide conditions for the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo to continue to work and to function in line with the Constitution and the law as soon as possible.

The Federal Chamber expects that, in line with its position and powers established by the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY Presidency will take all necessary measures in order to create conditions for all the contentious questions and problems which have arisen regarding the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo to be overcome as soon as possible.

The Federal Chamber orders the Federal Executive Council and the federal organs to immediately take appropriate measures and action, within the framework of the SFRY Constitution and the federal laws, to create conditions for the present situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo to be resolved more quickly, while consistently respecting constitutionality and legality in the work of all the organs and institutions of the system.

4. The Federal Chamber believes that all contentious issues and unresolved problems and difficulties in our country, and even the difficulties and problems in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, should be resolved in a democratic and peaceful way, and by using the means of a law-governed state, while consistently respecting constitutionality and legality, preserving the security and integrity of the country as a whole and the equality of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, and protecting the human rights and freedoms of all citizens of the SFRY.

Kosovo Unions Protest Emergency Measures

LD0108173990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1246 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Pristina, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—At its news conference today, the leadership of the "Union of Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo" [Unija nezavisnog sindikata Kosova] protected the implementation of emergency measures in certain Kosovo enterprises, finding it to be a "phenomenon by which Serbia violates all laws, the Constitution, and workers' rights."

Hajrulah Gorani, president of the alternative Trade Unions of Kosovo, qualified a decision by the Secretariat for Kosovo of the Serbian Trade Unions, on dissolution of municipal trade union councils, as ridiculous. He, like at almost all other news conferences, again read aloud certain excerpts from international conventions on "workers' right to set up their own trade unions without prior approval."

Leaflets with numerous appeals, reactions, statements, and information, containing "a list of work irregularities by illegally and unconstitutionally established bodies for implementation of emergency measures" were distributed to journalists.

Slovene Liberals on Future Yugoslav Organization

LD0108205890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2002 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—The Liberal Party of Slovenia, the former Slovenian Socialist Youth Alliance, will soon present to the Yugoslav public its ideas about the future system of Yugoslavia and will also soon open negotiations on this question, it was learned in Ljubljana today.

This party's deputies have already presented the concept of a "joint Yugoslav charter" to the republican assembly, actually a concept of a confederate treaty.

At today's session of the Liberal Party Presidency, it was agreed that negotiations with political parties in Yugoslavia be launched as soon as possible over this, a slightly improved, text.

According to this concept, Yugoslavia would be a union of independent states, "a kind of customs and monetary union with a common market and a free transit of capital, goods, and people..." The union would have also some common institutions which would be jointly financed and parliament would be the advisory body.

The presidency was unanimous regarding most stands in the proposal, except the ones on the "free transit of people" and on the introduction of different currencies.

The latter was considered a step back, and the stand on "free transit of people" too liberal.

Raskovic Addresses Serbian Rally in Croatia

AU0108133890 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 90 pp 1, 12

[Zoran Daskalovic, Milan Curuvija report: "They Have Proclaimed Autonomy"]

[Text] Srb—Despite rain and cool weather, several tens of thousands of people gathered at the first Serb Assembly [Srpski Sabor] held in Srb. Before they addressed the gathered crowd the presidents and representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party and the municipal Assemblies of Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac, Vukovar, Glina, Vojnic, Gracac, and Donji Lapac, deputies to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, and representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church met in the hotel in Srb and endorsed the proposal for the declaration on the sovereignty and autonomy of the Serbian people.

Raskovic's Speech

The first to address those present was Jovan Raskovic, who thanked them for their support, which is, as he put it, needed now more than ever. At that the cries "Greater Serbia" were heard, which Raskovic commented on immediately by saying: "We do not need small or great Serbia, we need the Serbian people in Croatia." Further on he spoke about the Serbian Assembly, which was set up with a view to proving that that which does not exist in the documents of the Croatian Assembly does exist in practice. The Serbian Assembly resulted out of necessity and was created under duress and it does not seek any fight or conflict. It wants to show that there are Serbian people in this territory and it wants equality and independence. It is a monstrous form of logic according to which every Serbian rally is an attack on the Croatian people. We have nothing against the Croatian people, we are against the Ustasha Movement, which wants to expand, and we will overthrow every regime that is Serbophobic.

On Talks With Tudjman

I am reproached for saying one thing during talks with Tudjman and something else when I address the Serbian people. When I address the top Croatian leadership, it is clear to me that we are not emotionally involved. I, and my associates, do not beg anybody for anything. Mr. Tudjman attacks me, but I do not want to attack him. The day before yesterday, we talked calmly and peacefully again. I had the impression that he wanted to build a democratic Croatia and to grant rights to the Serbian people, but seemed to be powerless. I would like to continue to talk with him, but not with the entire top leadership of the Croatian Democratic Community, because there is an Ustasha core in it. The present Croatian parliament is from a single party, and all single-party parliaments tend toward tyranny. We do not want the Croatian Assembly to become tyrannical.

This Serbian Assembly is a rebellion, an unarmed uprising. We shall make an effort to move the Serbian people as far away as possible from an armed uprising.

Both Croat and Serbian people need a real, democratic, and unburdened Croatian government. While Raskovic was saying this, one could hear cries, "We will kill the Ustashas," to which Raskovic replied: We will not kill anybody, but if we have to defend ourselves, we shall fight against Ustashas and not against the Croatian people. We do not want killings, we want our children to play and be friends with Croatian children.

Tudjman told me that he agrees with Serbian cultural autonomy and asked us to write down for him what kind of autonomy we wanted that to be. We would be satisfied with a cultural autonomy, but if a regime without freedom is created, our demands will then be for political autonomy. We want the right to have our own language, script, cultural institutions, publishing houses, our own newspapers, and above all, to have our own television.

Uniting the Serbian People

We would like the Serbian people to unite throughout the whole of its cultural territory. Nobody broke apart the Serbian cultural arena so fatally as Broz and Kardelj did, and they have left one more Albanian state on Serbian territory (several cries "Tito—Ustasha" were heard then).

The new authorities in Croatia hold the key to the fate of both Croatian and Serbian peoples. If they make mistakes—and they are making them with these amendments—then we cannot take responsibility for the fate of the Croatian and Serbian peoples upon ourselves.

Raskovic concluded his speech by reiterating that the Serbian Assembly is not directed against the Croatian Assembly or the Croatian people.

Amendments—an Antidemocratic Act

Jovan Opacic, who spoke next, said, among other things, that the adoption of the constitutional amendments is an antidemocratic act because it abolishes the democratic and political rights of the Serbian people. If the amendments are not withdrawn, the Serbian people will be forced to create political autonomy, which will be the first step toward creating a united Serbian state in the Balkans. We did not want that, but we will be forced to do it.

Mile Dakic, president of the Yugoslav Independent Democratic Party, said that his party supports the creation of the autonomy of the Serbs in Croatia. Dusan Zelenbaba and Radoslav Tanjga also spoke, and Milan Babic read the proposal of the Declaration on the Sovereignty and Autonomy of the Serbian People. The Declaration was then adopted and the people present greeted its adoption with prolonged applause.

The Serbian Assembly concluded after the proposed composition of the Serbian National Council was adopted. The members of the Council are the following: Jovan Raskovic, Milan Babic, Dusan Zelenbaba, David Rastovic, Vojislav Lukic, Ratko Licina, Dusan Ergovac, Slavko Dokmanovic, Velibor Matijasevic, Radoslav Tanjga, Jovan Opacic, Simo Rajsic, Mile Dakic, and priest Sava Bosanac, representative of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Also present were Antonije Isakovic, Miodrag Bulatovic, and Milic of Macva [Serbian painter Milic Stankovic]. Vojislav Seselj also appeared and was welcomed by a small group of like-minded people who sang a few Chetnik songs while the others only watched them silently from a distance.

Differences Rumored Between Piljak, Tudjman

AU0108152490 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jul 90 p 7

["M.C."-signed report: "Piljak and Tudjman Did Not Agree"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Jul—According to unofficial reports, in the latest talks in Zagreb between delegations from the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Republic of Croatia, Presidents Obrad Piljak and Franjo Tudjman did not agree on major political issues. Even though the talks were held in a very proper atmosphere, problems of a confederation and a federation and the problems of the equality of all citizens were not seen in the same way. There was also no exact or precise answer to Obrad Piljak's question on which powers the Republic of Croatia would want to transfer to a possible federation and which to a possible confederation. Differences obviously exist in this respect, too, between the leaderships of the two republics.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation also insisted on a decisive answer regarding the equality of all nationalities, but Franjo Tudjman adhered to the stand that there is room in the Constitution of Croatia for only one people to be written into it and that is the Croatian people.

Zagreb's Lenin Square Renamed After Croat King

LD0108192690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—Lenin's Square in Zagreb on Wednesday [1 August] afternoon was ceremoniously renamed to square of Croatian King Petar Kresimir the fourth.

This is the beginning of the earlier-announced renaming of streets and squares which bore names with socialist or revolutionary overtones.

The change coincided with the traditional summer festival 'Mare Nostrum Croaticum,' named thus after the enfeoffment of Croatian King Petar Kresimir the Fourth in 1069.

Tupurkovski on Macedonian National Question

AU0108173390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 90 p 1

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "Let Us Open the Borders Into the Future"]

[Text] Bitolj—We are simply saying to all those in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania who want to alienate the proud Macedonian people: A people who are oriented toward freedom and cultural communication and who respect others is indestructible, Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, said at the traditional border meeting of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia which was held today in the village of Trnovo in Bitolj.

Speaking in the presence of several thousand Macedonians who had come to this magnificent meeting from both sides of the border, (the Macedonian government had previously approved a three-day unilateral scrapping of visas), Dr. Tupurkovski said: We sympathize with the Macedonians in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania, quite aware that first of all, we also can have total freedom and national dignity only if all our brothers and sisters are liberated, and secondly, until the Macedonian national issue is resolved in a civilized and civilizatory way, it is impossible, objectively speaking, for the Bulgarian, Greek, and Albanian peoples to live freely and in a democracy.

Therefore, we are saying to them, because we are linked by fate, that disrespect for fundamental and natural rights will not make them either stronger or more successful in their authentic democratic aspirations. We Macedonians wish all the best for the Bulgarian, Greek, and Albanian peoples, whom we consider fraternal peoples, and we also wish them a complete national flowering. Through our struggle for the freedom of Macedonians and the Macedonian people, we are actually helping them to be more successful in defending their own vital interests, Tupurkovski said, and added that one cannot enter a democratic and united Europe through isolations and disrespect for others.

Thus, the so-called internationalization of the Macedonian question demonstrates the final maturing of the awareness that this is a European issue and nothing else, Dr. Tupurkovski categorically stated. We are prepared to open the borders, convinced that we will be enriched by everything that is exchanged and that we will be turned toward the future. Not one government and not one regime will be able to prevent this because historical evolution is irrevocably moving toward progress, Tupurkovski stressed.

Speaking about the current situation in the country, he expressed the view that we are nearing the crisis's denouement. We have realistic chances to overcome a decade of stagnation and backwardness. However, we must deal with the national question as much as with the question of development. We must reach a new agreement concerning a common life: It is only necessary for

everyone to respect the will of the people because no one in Yugoslavia can impose themselves on someone else and force their will onto others. In this context, the Macedonian people are also faced with a historic opportunity. There is no doubt that this people will give a principled and creative contribution to resolving the Yugoslav crisis, Dr. Tupurkovski said, telling the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia that their history is an integral part of the history of the Macedonian people and general human history.

A declaration was also sent from the meeting in Trnovo to the governments of Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, and Albania expressing dissatisfaction with the failure to settle the Macedonian national question. It was demanded that the international community put a stop to the new colonization of Aegean Macedonia. A commitment to peace in the Balkans and a united Europe was expressed, and Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations, was asked to visit the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Montenegro Socialist Party Joins Reform Alliance

LD0108172890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Titograd, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Socialist Party [Socijalisticka partija Crne Gore] Central Committee decided today that this party, while retaining its organizational and political integrity, is to join the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia.

The Socialist Party, the successor to the former Montenegrin Youth Organization, supports the reform of the political and economic system undertaken by the federal government, which at the same time represents the program foundations of the Alliance of Reformist Forces. Proceeding from its Yugoslav orientation, the Montenegrin Socialist Party Central Committee holds that Markovic's party is the only force capable of ensuring the integrity of Yugoslavia following multiparty elections.

The Socialist Party expresses its willingness to act together with the Initiative Committee of the Alliance of Reformist Forces and all other political associations, movements, and parties in the republic and Yugoslavia that join the Alliance of Reformist Forces.

Montenegrin Democratic Socialist Alliance Formed

LD0108164790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1338 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Titograd, August 1 (TANJUG)—The Democratic Socialist Alliance was proclaimed on Wednesday, an organization pretending to 'inherit' the Socialist Alliance of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro. This was done at a session of the republican conference by adopting the document on a transformed Socialist Alliance of the Working People.

Another party—the Party of Socialist of Montenegro—was recently formed at the initiative of a group of delegates of the republican conference. It, too, pretends to 'inherit the rights' of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Montenegro.